CHINA AND TIBET IN THE EARLY XVIIITH CENTURY

HISTORY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CHINESE PROTECTORATE IN TIBET

BY

L. PETECH

Second, Revised Edition
With 2 folding maps

LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1972

Copyright 1972 by E. J. Brill, Leiden, Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, microfiche or any other means without written permission from the publisher

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

Preface to the revised edition VII
List of Abbreviations VIII

I. Sources 1
II. Lajang Khan, the last Qōšot Ruler of Tibet (1705-1717) 8
III. The Dsungar Invasion of 1717 32
IV. Dsungar Occupation and Tibetan Risings 51
V. The Chinese Conquest of Tibet 66
VI. The Chinese Protectorate during the last years of K'ang-hsi 74
VII. Tibet and the New Policy of Yung-chêng 91
VIII. K'an-c'en-nas's Murder and P'o-lha-nas's Preparations for War 113
IX. The Civil War of 1727-1728 122
X. The Trial of the Ministers and P'o-lha-nas's Rise to Power 141
XI. P'o-lha-nas's Rule during the Exile of the Dalai-Lama (1729-1735) 158
XII. P'o-lha-nas, Administrator and "King" of Tibet (1735-1747) 176
XIII. 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal, the last "King" of Tibet (1747-1750) 198
XIV. The End of the "Kingdom" and the Rise of the Temporal Power of the Dalai-Lama 216
XV. The Administration of Tibet during the First Half-century of Chinese Protectorate 236
XVI. Conclusion 260

Appendix: Chinese Documents 264
Chronological Lists for the Period 1706-1751 282
Bibliography 286

Index 290

PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION

It seems that *China and Tibet in the early 18th century* has stood fairly well the impact of time. Nevertheless, it is but natural that after the lapse of twenty-one years some parts of the book badly needed revision; some mistakes had to be corrected and the whole historical reconstruction had to be brought in line with the progress of recent studies. I am grateful to the publishers and to the directors of the *T'oung Pao* for having given me the possibility to present to the scholarly world my old book in a thoroughly revised and corrected shape.

Besides taking into account the learned studies published in the last twenty years, I could utilize some Tibetan and Chinese texts that were not available to me in 1950. The chapters that underwent the most radical changes are the 2nd and the 4th; so also the genealogical tables at the end.

Several mistakes were corrected. To give an example, the identification of the regent "Chiesré Rimbocé" of the Italian missionaries with the K'ri Rin-po-c'e of dGa'-ldan was wrong; the name is a fairly transparent transcription of rGyal-sras Rin-po-c'e (see p. 153).

A small change has been introduced in the spelling of Tibetan words: ' has replaced *a* in the text (but not in the two maps, to avoid having them re-drawn). In Mongol words, I have replaced *ä* with *e*. The title Tashi-Lama, basically incorrect and now quite obsolete, has been dropped in favour of Paṇ-c'en.

Rome, September 1971 LUCIANO PETECH

ABBREVIATIONS

A. Periodicals

HJAS	Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
J. As.	Journal Asiatique
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
PASB	Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
TP	T'oung Pao

B. Tibetan Texts

A2PC	Autobiography of the Second Paṇ-c'en
A3PC	Autobiography of the Third Paṇ-c'en
Dad pa'i 'dab brgya	Life of Ṅag-dbaṅ-byams-pa
K. Ann.	Annals of Kokonor
L7DL	Life of the Seventh Dalai-Lama
MBTJ	*Mi dbaṅ rtogs brjod* (Life of P'o-lha-nas)
sTag-luṅ	History of the chiefs of sTag-luṅ

For further particulars see Introduction and Sources

C. Documents of the Italian missionaries

MITN	L. Petech, I missionari italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal (7 vols.), Rome 1952-1956

CHAPTER ONE

SOURCES

The years from 1705 to 1751 decided of the future of Tibet for nearly two centuries; the political conditions, then created, lasted till 1912. The importance of the events of those years has been duly appreciated by scholars in Europe and America, and we have at least three good accounts of this period:

A—W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai-Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of China, in *TP* XI (1910), pp. 1-104. Based mainly on the *Shêng-wu-chi* 聖武記 of Wei Yüan 魏源 (published in 1842) and the last of the several works called *Tung-hua-lu* 東華錄, viz. the one published by Wang Hsien-ch'ien 王先謙 in 1884.

B—E. Haenisch, Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas unter der gegenwärtigen Dynastie, I: Die Eroberung von Tibet, in *TP* XII (1911), pp. 197-235 and 375-424. Translation of 37 official documents concerning the Tibetan campaign of 1718-1720, from the Manchu version of the *Chun-ko-êrh fang-lüeh* 準噶爾方略.

C—M. Courant, *L'Asie centrale au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Annales de l'Université de Lyon, Nouv. Série fasc. 26, 1912. Based on the *Tung-hua-lu* of Wang Hsien-ch'ien.[1]

But it is remarkable that all of them are based only on the

[1] To these may be added G. Schulemann, *Die Geschichte der Dalailamas*[2] Heidelberg 1957; a fairly good second-hand compilation without independent value. W. D. Shakabpa, *Tibet, a political history*, New Haven and London 1967, a valuable if not wholly critical account based on Tibetan sources, gives a condensed account of this period. Older authors, e.g. those summarized in Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, vol. I (London 1876), pp. 521-523, 532-533 643-644, are now useless.

A translation of the 5th chapter of the *Shêng-wu-chi*, concerning the Chinese relations with Tibet, was undertaken by Jametel, Histoire de la pacification du Tibet, in *Revue de l'Extrême Orient* I (1882), pp. 572-592; it was never finished, and the account stops with the year 1718. Another translation of the same text was begun by Ivanovskij, De la conquête du Tibet par les Chinois, in *Muséon* III (1884), pp. 165-181; but this version too never went beyond the first pages.

Chinese sources available at the time, with the addition of part of the material supplied by the Catholic missionaries in Tibet (the Jesuit Desideri and the Capuchins). The Tibetan records of this period had never been utilized; [1] nor have been the "Veritable Documents" (*Shih-lu*) of the Manchu dynasty, which have become available to scholars only in 1937. The present work is based on both the Tibetan and Chinese material; for the years 1705-1732 the Tibetan sources predominate, while for the years 1732-1751 it is the Chinese documents which are richer and more useful.

There are four chief Tibetan works relating to this period. First, the *Life of the Seventh Dalai-Lama Blo-bzaṅ-bskal-bzaṅ-rgya-mtsʻo* (1708-1757).[2] Its author is the well-known Changchia Qutuqtu (in Tibetan: lCaṅ-skya Rol-paʾi-rdo-rje), the editor of the Mongolian bsTan-ʾgyur.[3] He began his work at Lhasa in 1758 and finished it in 1759. The *L7DL* is arranged in annalistic order, and sometimes even the month and day of the events are given. Being the official biography of the Dalai-Lama who ruled the see during the period under consideration, it certainly is a source of the foremost importance. But like all the works of this class it is rather disappointing for the Western scholar. It is concerned strictly with religion and its ceremonial; even important events of political history are sometimes ignored. Its interest, therefore, lies mainly in the very full lists of Mongol, Tibetan and Chinese grandees who visited the Dalai-Lama, and in its precise chronology. The literary style is beautiful, easy and flowing, a fine example of the Tibetan prose.

The second work is the *Autobiography of the Second Paṇ-cʻen Blo-bzaṅ-ye-śes-dpal-bzaṅ-po* (1663-1737).[4] It has no colophon and

---

[1] The first exception to this rule was G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome 1949, which on pp. 77-80 contains a very short abstract of the Tibetan texts relating to this period.

[2] Full title: *rGyal baʾi dbaṅ po tʻams cad mkʻyen gzigs rdo rje ʾcʻaṅ blo bzaṅ bskal bzaṅ rgya mtsʻoʾi žal sṅa nas kyi rnam par tʻar pa mdo tsam brjod pa dpag bsam rin po cʻeʾi sñe ma*; ff. 558. On this work see G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, pp. 168-169, and A. I. Vostrikov, *Tibetskaja istoričeskaja literatura*, Moscow 1962, p. 307. Quoted by the abbreviation *L7DL*.

[3] Died in 1786. *Life of the Fourth Paṇ-cʻen* f. 47b; *Life of the Eighth Dalai-Lama*, f. 158a.

[4] The date of birth in his *Autobiography* (f. 11b) is 15/VII = August 17th, 1663. The date of death is given by the *L7DL*, f. 232b, as 5/VII = July 31st, 1737. Full title of his autobiography: *Śākya'i dge sloṅ blo bzaṅ ye śes kyi spyod tsʻul gsal bar byed pa ṅor dkar can gyi pʻreṅ ba*; ff. 400. First volume

stops abruptly, the last entry being under the date 5/1, 1732; apparently it has been left unfinished by the author. Its arrangement is annalistic, with one of the most painstakingly exact chronologies ever found in Tibetan literature; the day and month of nearly every event is given. Of course, from the modern historian's point of view it suffers from the same drawbacks as the *L7DL*. It is written in a peculiar language full of rare words and uncommon constructions, although its syntax is simple and its style rather plain. There is also a continuation, compiled by the Third Paṇ-c'en, which carries the tale down to 1737[1].

The third work is the *Autobiography of the Third Paṇ-c'en Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-ldan-ye-śes-dpal-bzaṅ-po* (1738-1780).[2] It is built on much the same lines as the preceeding work, of which it shares all the merits and defects; but its language is simpler, being the usual standard Tibetan. It stops with the end of 1776.

The fourth source, and by far the most important, is the *Mi-dbaṅ-rtogs-brjod*.[3] It is the biography of bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas of P'o-lha, ruler of Tibet ("king" for the missionaries) from 1728 to his death in 1747.[4] Its author Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal of mDo-mk'ar was first a finance director under the Tibetan council; in 1728 he was appointed a member of P'o-lha-nas's first cabinet; he was also a member of the council of four ministers established in 1751, and died in 1763.[5] He finished his work at rGyal-mk'ar-rtse (Gyantse)

(*Ka*) of the complete works (*gsuṅ 'bum*). On this work see G. Tucci, Op cit., pp. 161-162, and A. I. Vostrikov, Op. cit., pp. 293-294. Quoted by the abbreviation *A2PC*.

[1] Full title: *rDo rje 'c'aṅ c'en po Paṇ c'en T'ams cad mk'yen pa Blo bzaṅ ye śes dpal bzaṅ po'i sku gsuṅ t'ugs kyi mdsad pa ma lus pa gsal bar byed pa'i rnam par t'ar pa 'od dkar can gyi 'p'reṅ ba'i smad c'a*. Ff. 138. Third volume (*Ga*) of the complete works of the Third Paṇ-c'en. Quoted by the abbreviation *A2PCcont*.

[2] Full title: *rJe bla ma srid ži'i gtsug rgyan paṇ c'en t'ams cad mk'yen pa blo bzaṅ dpal ldan ye śes dpal bzaṅ po'i žal sṅa nas kyi rnam par t'ar pa*; ff. 375. First volume (*Ka*) of the complete works. Quoted by the abbreviation *A3PC*.

[3] Full title: *dPal mi'i dbaṅ po'i rtogs brjod pa 'jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gtam*; ff. 395. On this work see G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 169. Quoted by the abbreviation *MBTJ*.

[4] This personage is called by various titles in the Tibetan texts, such as P'o-lha-nas, P'o-lha Taiji, dGuṅ-blon Taiji, Mi-dbaṅ. I shall call him P'o-lha-nas throughout this work, mainly because the title regularly used in Chinese sources is P'o-lo-nai 頗羅鼐.

[5] *sTag-luṅ*, f. 440a.

on the I/X = November 7th, 1733. Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal wrote during the lifetime of his hero, and his high position gave him every chance of a good inside knowledge of the events of which he was a witness. Thus his work is marked by a high degree of trustworthiness. There is of course the drawback of a strong bias in favour of P'o-lha-nas, of whom the author is an enthusiastic apologist. Another defect is the vagueness of the chronology: only seldom a date is given. But luckily this can be completed from the other sources. In the first hundred or so pages, the work is written in a highly ornate and long-winded style, sometimes quite difficult to understand; occasionally use is made of the rules of Indian *alaṁkāra*,[1] and poems of various lengths are freely inserted in the narrative. As the tale goes on, the style becomes gradually easier, at times even colloquial; and in moments of crisis, while relating events of the highest importance, the author lets himself go, and then he can be delightfully direct and straightforward, even if only for a short time.

Some minor works have been utilized as complement to the four mentioned above.

The history of the chiefs of sTag-luṅ [2] is a valuable local chronicle, full of interesting sidelights on Tibetan history; it was compiled by order of *rtsis-dpon* mDo-mk'ar-ba 'Gyur-med-ts'e-dbaṅ-dpal-'byor between 1827 and 1829. Of particular interest for us is its 36th and last chapter (ff. 387-442), containing the biography of Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal, the author of the *MBTJ*.

The work not very aptly called *Annals of Kokonor* [3] was written by Sum-pa mK'an-po Ye-śes-dpal-'byor in 1786. Its actual content is a history of Tibet in the 17th and 18th century, some information on the Mongol chiefs of Kuku-nor and a brief geographical description of the two countries.

An important secondary source is the collection of the biographies of the K'ri Rin-po-c'e, or abbots of dGa'-ldan monastery. These

---

[1] The use of Indian *alaṁkāra* was introduced in Tibet by the Fifth Dalai-Lama. G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 104.

[2] Full title: *dPal stag luṅ ga zi'i gduṅ rabs zam ma c'ad par byon pa'i rnam t'ar ṅo mts'ar nor bu'i do śal skye dgu'i yid 'p'rog*; ff. 448. Manuscript in the possession of Professor G. Tucci. Quoted by the abbreviation *sTag-luṅ*.

[3] Full title: *mTs'o sṅon gyi lo rgyus sogs bkod pa'i ts'aṅs glu gsar sñan*. Published by Lokesh Chandra as an appendix to his edition of the *Vaiḍūrya ser po*, New Delhi 1960, pp. 425-458. Quoted by the abbreviation *K. Ann.* Translated by H. C. Yang, *The Annals of Kokonor* (Indiana University Publications, 106), Bloomington 1969.

abbots, who rank third in dignity and influence after the Dalai-Lama and the Paṇ-c'en, are not incarnations; they are elected for their scholarly merits alone and remain on the see for a period of seven years. The collection [1] comprises the lives of K'ri Rin-po-c'e, beginning with the 47th of the series (on the see 1699-1700) and ending with the 71th (on the see 1828-1829). The single biographies were compiled by various authors between 1810 and 1831.

Some bits of information can be gathered from the life of the incarnate of P'ur-bu-lcog Ṅag-dbaṅ-byams-pa (1682-1762) by the Third Paṇ-c'en,[2] and from two chronological tracts by Kloṅ-rdol bLa-ma Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ;[3] they were written about 1790, as the last date mentioned in them is 1787.

Lastly, I may mention a small booklet, the *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu* (Guide of the blind).[4] It is a kind of manual, intended for the official class, describing the seals of the Dalai-Lamas and of the regents. It is arranged in the form of chronological tables, the year being always given as heading, even if no item is recorded under it. The author is unknown. The work was apparently written in the first years of the present century, but in spite of its being so modern, it gives some data not found elsewhere.

The main Chinese source is of course the series of the *Shih-lu* (*Ta-ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu* 大清歷朝實錄).[5] This invaluable collection,

[1] *dGe ldan gser k'ri rin po c'er dbaṅ sgyur ba'i skyes mc'og dam pa k'ri c'en rim byon rnams kyi rnam t'ar rmad byuṅ nor bu'i p'reṅ ba.*

[2] *Dus gsum saṅs rgyas t'ams cad kyi ṅo bo rigs daṅ dkyil 'k'or rgya mts'o'i mṅa' bdag bka' drin mts'uṅs med rje btsun Ṅag dbaṅ byams pa rin po c'e'i rnam par t'ar pa dad pa'i 'dab brgya bžad par byed pa'i ñi ma*; vol. *Ga* of the complete works of the Third Paṇ-c'en. Quoted by the shortened title *Dad pa'i 'dab brgya*. Ṅag-dbaṅ-byams-pa was a prolific writer; for a list of his works see *A catalogue of the Tōhoku University collection of Tibetan works on Buddhism*, Sendai 1953, nn. 6150-6198.

[3] *bsTan 'dsin gyi skyes bu rgya bod du byon pa'i miṅ gi graṅs*; vol. *Za* of the complete works. *bsTan pa'i 'byin bdag byuṅ ts'ul gyi miṅ gi graṅs*; vol. *'A* of the complete works. The above two booklets are mentioned also by Stael-Holstein, Notes on two Lama paintings, in *JAOS* 52 (1932), pp. 339 and 342. Now printed in India by Dalama, *Tibetan Buddhist Studies by Kloṅ-rdol*, II, Mussoorie 1964, pp. 276-362.

[4] Full title: *gŽuṅ rabs rnams la ñe bar mk'o ba bla dpon rim byon gyi lo rgyus t'am deb loṅ ba'i dmigs bu*. Published by Tharchin, *Yig bskur rnam gžag*, Kalimpong 1956, pp. 173-194. See J. Bacot, Titres et colophons d'ouvrages non canoniques tibétains, in *BEFEO* 44 (1954), p. 328 n. 64.

[5] Published by the Manchoukuo government and photolitographied at

officially compiled, of Ch'ing documents is the most important and authentic source for the history of the Manchu dynasty. It supersedes the several *Tung-hua-lu*, which are only extracts of the *Shih-lu*.[1] A cursory perusal of the *Shêng-hsün* 聖訓 (Collected Edicts) of K'ang-hsi, Yung-chêng and Ch'ien-lung showed that practically all of the documents in them are also included in the *Shih-lu*. Both *Tung-hua-lu* and *Shêng-hsün*, therefore, are not quoted in the present work.

Among the second-rank sources, the *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih* 衛藏通志 stands out. Its anonymous author wrote about the end of the 18th century, but the work was published in 1896 only.[2] It is a veritable mine of information on Tibet in the second half of the 18th century. In its 13th *chüan* (Historical Summary) I found some interesting information. But the main emphasis is placed on much later evens, above all on the Gorkha war of 1791/2.

Equally important is the *Huang-ch'ao fan-pu yao-lüeh* 皇朝藩部要略 compiled by Ch'i Yün-shih 祁韻士 (1751-1815) and first published by his son Ch'i Chün-tsao 祁寯藻 in 1845. It gives some genealogical information about Tibetan noble families that is not found elsewhere.

As far as Tibet in the early 18th century is concerned, the *Fan-pu yao-lüeh* is almost the sole source for the *Ch'ing-shih-kao* 清史稿 in 536 *chüan*, compiled between 1914 and 1927 by the Ch'ing Historical Board under the supervision of Chao Erh-hsün 趙爾巽;[3] it was intended to be the 25th dynastic history and the last to be written on the traditional pattern. Thus for the period under consideration its monograph on Tibet (*Fan-pu* ch. 8; ch. 525 of the whole work) has little independent value from the *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*.

Tōkyō in 1937. On the *Shih-lu* see W. Fuchs, *Beiträge zur mandjurischen Bibliographie und Literatur*, Tōkyō 1936, pp. 58-71.

[1] See K. Biggerstaff, Some notes on the Tung-hua-lu and the Shih-lu in *HJAS* IV (1939), pp. 101-115.

[2] An analysis of the *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih* is given by E. Haenisch, Eine chinesische Beschreibung von Tibet (vermutlich von Klaproth nach Amiot's Übersetzung bearbeitet), in Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, vol. IX, p. IV, pp. 8-11.

[3] The work has had a chequered career; it first edition was banned in 1928 by the Kuomintang government, when their troops reached Peking, and it was not again released for sale till 1937. Cfr. Haenisch, Das Ts'ing-schi-kao und die sonstige chinesische Literatur zur Geschichte der letzten 300 Jahre, in *Asia Major* VI (1930), pp. 403-444. On its three editions see C. H. Peake, A comparison of the various editions of the Ch'ing-shih-kao, in *TP* XXXV (1940), pp. 354-363. I have used the Hong Kong reprint.

The *Hsi-tsang-chih* 西藏誌 was written shortly after 1737 by Chiao Ying-ch'i 焦應旂, who had taken part in the Chinese expedition to Lhasa in 1720.[1] It adds some interesting details to the larger works.

The polyglot dictionary [*Ch'in-ting*] *Hsi-yü t'ung-wên-chih* 欽定西域同文志; compiled about 1771,[2] is chiefly interesting for its genealogical material.

The *Shêng-wu-chi* too has been of some little use. I have also utilized the *Chun-ko-êrh fang-lüeh* in Haenisch's translation, and the *Wei-tsang-t'u-chih* 衛藏圖識, as translated by Rockhill in the *JRAS* of 1891.

Another set of important sources is represented by the documents left by the Italian missionaries. The Jesuit Ippolito Desideri, who was in Lhasa from 1716 to 1721, wrote a very important account, to which we may add the records of the Capuchin missionaries, who stayed in Lhasa in 1707-1711, 1716-1733 and 1741-1745. A complete critical edition of all this material is now available.[3] There is also an English translation (not quite complete) of Desideri's account.[4]

A last word about chronology. Chinese and Tibetan dates are here quoted by the Arabic number of the day, or by its cyclic name, followed by the Roman number of the moon; e.g. 17/IX or *kuei-mao*/IV. European dates are written out in full, e.g. November 13th. In Tibetan dates we find sometimes the expression "Hor (i.e. Uighur) months"; in practice it means Chinese moons, and they are treated accordingly. Where the word Hor is missing, the difference may amount to several days, as much as one month. In that case, and provided no independent confirmation is available, the equivalent of the Chinese date is given, preceded by the sign *c*.

[1] It consists of an introductory chapter written in 1721 at the age of 57 *sui* and of two unnumbered chapters. For the sake of clearness, I have given the numbers 1-3 to these three sections.

[2] On this date and generally on this work see K. Enoki, Researches in Chinese Turkestan during the Ch'ien-lung period with special reference to the *Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih*, in *Mem. Tōyō Bunko* 14 (1955), pp. 1-46. The dictionary was reprinted in three volumes, Tokyo 1961-1963.

[3] L. Petech, *I missionari italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal* (Nuovo Ramusio, II), 7 voll., Rome 1952-1956. Quoted by the abbreviation *MITN*.

[4] F. De Filippi, *An Account of Tibet: the travels of Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia S.J. 1712-1727*, revised ed., London 1937.

CHAPTER TWO

LAJANG KHAN, THE LAST QŌŚOT RULER OF TIBET (1705-1717)

The supremacy of the Dalai-Lamas over Lamaism, and their temporal power are due to the life work of one of the greatest men Tibet ever produced: the Fifth Dalai-Lama Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ (1617-1682). He reached his goal through sheer diplomatic skill and the clever use of the services of Guśri Khan, the chieftain of the Mongol tribe of the Qōśots. After the successful conclusion of military operations against the last Tibetan ruler of gTsaṅ (1642), Tibet was placed under a rather complicated form of government. Of course the Dalai-Lama had full religious powers, but he did not concern himself with actual administration. A strong and masterful personality like that of the Great Fifth did, it is true, exercise a powerful if indirect influence upon politics; but this was an exception. The true bearers of political power ought to have been Guśri Khan and his successors. But they were handicapped by the fact that they did not usually reside in Lhasa; they were true nomads and had their usual pasture-grounds in the land 'Dam.[1] They roved there during the summer and came only in winter, though not always, to the capital, where they resided in the dGa'-ldan K'aṅ-gsar palace.[2] These chiefs were in absolute control of the armed forces and everything connected with them; they were also the nominal heads of the civil government. But executive powers were delegated by them to a regent, or *sde-srid*, the Tisri of the Italian missionaries. At first he was a nominee of the Khan.[3] But with the decay of Qōśot power under the weak successors of Guśri Khan, the Dalai-Lama succeeded in gaining influence upon the government. The regent appointed in 1679, A-bar Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o, was an astute and energetic statesman; he ruled Tibet

[1] The valley of the Damchu to the south-east of the Tengri-nor. It is still inhabited by the southernmost Mongols, those of the 'Dam tribe.

[2] Francesco Orazio della Penna, Breve notizia del regno del Tibet, in *MITN*, III, p. 60. On the dGa'-ldan K'aṅ-gsar (Kangda Kangsar) palace see L. A. Waddell, *Lhasa and its mysteries*, London 1906, p. 425.

[3] G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 67.

with a strong hand,[1] while the Fifth Dalai-Lama in his old age gradually retired into spiritual seclusion. After the Dalai-Lama's death in 1682 the *sde-srid* effectively concealed the event from the Tibetans and above all from the Mongol princes and from the emperor; he did everything in his power to convince their envoys that the Fifth Dalai-Lama was still alive but in religious retreat.[2] However, in 1685 he had secretly searched for and found the new incarnation, the Sixth Dalai-Lama Ts'aṅs-dbyaṅs-rgya-mts'o, and in 1697 he officially communicated the change to the emperor. The latter sent to Lhasa the Manchu official Booju to investigate the matter and to reprimand the *sde-srid*; but at the same time he despatched the lCaṅskya Qutuqtu Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-c'os-ldan (1642-1714) to represent him at the ceremony of enthronement performed by the Paṇ-c'en.[3]

The Dalai-Lama grew up as a gifted but boisterous youth; he was one of the best Tibetan poets, and his love songs are a landmark in Tibetan literary history. Of course his ways of life soon aroused protests from many quarters. Honestly enough, he was unwilling to perform his final religious initiation and consecration (*t'ugs-rdsogs*), feeling himself unfit to fill the place of his predecessor. The Paṇ-c'en tried in vain to persuade the young man to do what was his plain duty "toward religion and the living beings". He not only met with a refusal, but in 1702 the Dalai-Lama renounced his monastic vows in the hands of the Paṇ-c'en, returning thus to the lay state, but maintaining his temporal prerogatives, such as they were.[4]

This was a serious blow to the position of the *sde-srid*, who at the same time was confronted with a new danger from another direction. The rather effaced and inactive Qōśot ruler of Tibet, Dalai Khan (1668-1701) had been succeeded by his son Vangjal (1701-1703). The latter in his turn was poisoned by his brother Lajang (Tib. Lha-bzaṅ) Khan. In that same year 1703 and perhaps in connection with this change, Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o chose to retire from his position and was formally succeeded as *sde-srid* by

[1] On his political and literary activities see G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, pp. 74-77, 136-137, 164-165.

[2] W. Heissig, Ein mongolisches Textfragment über den Ölötenfürst Galdan, in *Sinologische Arbeiten* 2 (1944), pp. 120-124.

[3] W. W. Rockhill, in *TP* 11 (1910), pp. 21-22, 27-28. Father Amiot in *Mémoires concernant l'histoire etc. des Chinois*, XIV, Paris 1789), pp. 132-134.

[4] On the "abdication" of the Sixth Dalai-Lama see L. Petech, Notes on Tibetan history of the 18th century, in *TP* 52 (1965-1966), p. 262-266.

his eldest son Ñag-dbaṅ-rin-c'en; it was, however, a mere formal gesture, because in practice all actual power continued with the former regent as before.[1]

Lajang Khan was a man of character and energy, who did not intend to tolerate any longer the powerless state to which the Qōśot chiefs had sunk. At once he began to show an activity and interest in Tibetan affairs, which portended a revival of the almost obsolete paramountcy of his family.

An antagonism between Lajang and Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o arose since the very beginning (1703), and it was in this period that we have to place the attempt of the ex-regent to poison Lajang and his chief minister.[2] According to a Mongol text, they were saved by the blessing and the holy water of the head of the sGo-maṅs college in 'Bras-spuṅs, 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bžad-pa (1648-1721).[3] In 1716 Desideri found the Qōśot ruler and his minister "Targum Treêscij" still suffering from the aftermaths of the poisoning.[4]

The quarrel flared out in the open during the *smon-lam* festival after the New Year's day of 1705. In a great gathering of the clergy Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o proposed to seize and kill the Khan. But 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bžad-pa opposed the plot, and nothing came of it.[5] Thereupon the monks, and above all the La-mo *c'os-skyoṅ*,[6] ad-

[1] For Lajang career till 1703 and for the events of that year see L. Petech, Notes on Tibetan history etc., pp. 266-271. From this point on, the account of the end of the *sde-srid* is reproduced with little changes from that article (pp. 271-274).

[2] The emperor alludes to the fact in his edict dated *ting-hai*/XI (6th January, 1707); *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 227, ff. 24a-25a. The Paṇ-c'en too mentions it in passing under the date of the 6th month (July) of 1704, when he sent two envoys to attempt a mediation between the ex-regent and the Qōśot ruler; he was moved by the rumours among the clergy and nobility concerning the behaviour of the Dalai-Lama and the poisoning of the king (*rgyal por gyur dug gi gleṅ*); *A2PC*, f. 220a.

[3] *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, f. 12b; W. Heissig, Ein mongolisches Textfragment etc., pp. 125-126. On 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bžad-pa see J. F. Rock, *The Amnye Ma-chhen range and adjacent regions*, pp. 39-41; Lokesh Chandra, The life and works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bžad-pa, in *CAJ* 7 (1962), pp. 264-279; id., *Materials for a history of Tibetan literature*, I, New Delhi 1963, pp. 45-49. He acted as the head of the sGo-maṅs college from 1700 to 1708; in 1710 he founded the famous monastery of Bla-braṅ in Amdo, which is still headed by his incarnations.

[4] Desideri, *Relazione*, in *MITN*, V, pp. 189-190, and VI, p. 39.

[5] W. Heissig, Ein mongolisches Textfragment etc., p. 126.

[6] La-mo, wrongly transliterated by Heissig as Lha-mo, is to the North-east

vised Lajang to leave for Kuku-nor. This was probably an order rather than a piece of advice; apparently they saw in this a means for avoiding an armed clash, and at the same time getting rid of their Mongol protector.

Lajang Khan feigned to comply and started for the North. But when he arrived at the banks of the Nag-c'u, he halted, gathered his tribesmen and in the 6th month of 1705 marched on Lhasa. The monks of the three great monasteries ('Bras-spuṅs, Se-ra, dGa'-ldan) tried to mediate, and the Paṇ-c'en too sent a letter entreating the Khan not to cause damage to living beings. But Lajang, although not opposing a flat denial, announced his decision to advance in any case as far as Glaṅ-t'aṅ.[1] The ex-regent, on the other side, rejected any compromise and concentrated the troops of Central Tibet, K'ams and mÑa'-ris near Lhasa. This of course left Lajang free to continue his advance. He reached his private domain of 'Dam, south of the Tengri-nor, and hence the 'P'an-yul valley, where Glaṅ-t'aṅ is situated. Then the Qōśot army crossed the mountains that lie to the north of Lhasa, marching in three columns. The left column, led by the Khan himself, passed through the rGad-mo défilé (*'p'raṅ*); [2] the centre, led by Tügüs (T'u-gwus) Jaisang, through the rGo pass; [3] the right column, under the Khan's wife Jerinraśi (Ts'e-riṅ-bkra-śis), through the sTod-luṅ valley.[4] The regent offered battle, but was defeated with the loss of 400 men; the decisive fighting seems

of dGa'-ldan; Ferrari, p. 109 n. 111. Its *c'os-skyoṅ* (oracle) was supposed to be inspired by Ts'aṅs-pa dkar-po, a form of Brahmā; R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and demons of Tibet*, Den Haag 1956, p. 145. It may be identical with the Pel-Lamo oracle of the missionaries (*MITN*, II, p. 261); but in any case R. A. Stein in *J. As.* 1956, pp. 342-343, has shown that the goddess dPal-ldan Lha-mo is not concerned here. The La-mo oracle was particularly connected (at least in this period) with the Paṇ-c'en. Not only he gave the general indications for the search of the second incarnation of the Paṇ-c'en (*A2PC*, ff. 8b-9a), but it was the only oracle whom the latter regularly consulted during the whole of his life, as shown by numerous entries in the *A2PC*.

[1] On Glaṅ-t'aṅ (Langdong of the maps) see Ferrari, p. 84 n. 31.

[2] The same as the dGa'-mo défilé on the sKyid-c'u, to the East of Lhasa, which played a similar role in the civil war of 1727-1728; see later, p. 138.

[3] The Penbogo-la ('P'an-po sGo-la) of the maps, to the north of Lhasa; Ferrari, p. 39 and n. 36.

[4] The Tolung valley of the maps, to the west of Lhasa; Ferrari, p. 73; Wylie, pp. 77-78 and n. 321.

to have taken place on the rGo pass, where Tügüs Jaisang fought and killed the Tibetan commander rDo-rje-rab-brtan.[1]

At this point the clergy intervened once more; the Paṇ-c'en even started for the theatre of war, but he had barely reached a couple of stages from bKra-śis-lhun-po, when he heard that the matter had been settled. The position of Sańs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o was hopeless and he had to agree to the new proposals, which amounted to a capitulation: he laid down his powers upon an assurance of safety and was sent to live at Goṅ-dkar-rdsoṅ,[2] while Lajang took over the government of the country.[3]

The new ruler remained for the moment encamped at Jarbusib(?); but his wife Jerinraśi, who seemed to harbour personal hatred against the fallen regent, had him arrested at Goṅ-dkar-rdsoṅ and brought to the sTod-luṅ valley. The monks of 'Bras-spuṅs tried to intercede for him; but before their spokesman arrived, the princess caused Sańs-rgyas-rgya-ṃts'o to be put to death on the slopes of the hill where the sKyor-mo-luṅ monastery[4] is built.[5] The actual killer was one Bar-c'o-k'a Qośōči and the date of the event was probably the 19/VII, i.e. the 6th September, 1705.[6] Common opinion

[1] This account of the events that led to the war, and of the Qōśot march on Lhasa is based mainly on *K. Ann.*, p. 438 (transl. p. 44); also on *A2PC*, f. 223a, and on the *Bolur toli*, the passage in which concerning the events of 1705 was edited and translated by W. Heissig, Ergänzungen zu einem mongolischen Textfragment über Galdan, in *Sinologische Arbeiten* 3 (1945), pp. 173-175.

[2] Kongka Dzong of the maps. Ferrari, pp. 134-135; Wylie, p. 88 and p. 479. It was the customary place of banishment.

[3] W. Heissig, Ergänzungen etc., p. 175.

[4] On sKyor-mo-luṅ, now almost deserted, see Ferrari, p. 167, n. 690; Wylie, p. 77 and p. 320.

[5] The authorities for Sańs-rgya-mts'o's end are chiefly *K. Ann.*, p. 438 (transl. p. 44); W. Heissig, Ergänzungen etc., pp. 175-176; *A2PC*, ff. 223b, 224b; and *MBTJ*, f. 55a. The *Re'u-mig*, in *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, Part III, New Delhi 1959, p. 75, and the *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, f. 12b, mention the fact in a few words. The *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 179, places the murder at sTod-luṅ sNaṅ-rtse (locality unknown). Desideri, in *MITN*, VI, pp. 39-40, gives a more romantic tale: the ex-regent was persuaded to surrender by a falsified order (*bka'-śog*) on which the seal of the Dalai-Lama was affixed while the latter was dead drunk. This account, although much embellished, may be substantially true, because the *bka'-śog* is mentioned also in *A2PC*, f. 223b.

[6] Date given in the biography (vol. K'a of the collection) of the 48th K'ri Rin-po-c'e Don-grub-rgya-mts'o (1665-1727; on the see of dGa'-ldan 1702-1709), f. 5b. The *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, pp. 178, 206, 208, has the date 29/VII

attributed the deed to the suggestions of wicked ministers, and later considered the tragic end of Lajang in 1717 as a fitting retribution for the break of his pledge and the murder.[1]

After this, Lajang was recognized as king (*rgyal-po k'ri-pa*), apparently with the style of bsTan-'dsin Jiṅ-gir rGyal-po.[2] This courtesy title of Jingis Khan was normally used by foreigners; the Italian missionaries in Tibet and Unkovskij, the Russian envoy to Dsungaria, knew no other name.

The beginning of his reign was marred by some acts of harshness and oppression. During the advance to Lhasa he had put to death the head of the Se-ra sMad college, and 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bžad-pa restrained him with difficulty from destroying that establishment, which had dared to show some hostility to him.[3] Many acts of cruelty, such as flogging and imprisonment, took place in gTsaṅ.[4]

This severity may be a sign of the unstable position in which Lajang found himself at first. His success against the ex-regent had been complete. But his victory placed him in direct opposition to the Dalai-Lama, whose position was nearly unassailable. However personally unworthy, for the clergy and the populace he was the embodiment of sPyan-ras-gzigs and thus the spiritual head of the country. To tackle this delicate proposition, the Qōšot Khan first of all conciliated the Paṇ-c'en, whom his wife visited in the 9th month of 1705, bringing him costly presents.[5] He also made some friendly advances toward the great monasteries; thus he donated to Se-ra the Groṅ-smad estate (*gžis-ka*), which had belonged to Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o and from whom the late regent had sometimes got his name.[6]

But these conciliatory gestures were not enough. Lajang's military power was very limited, and thus he needed external support.

(16th September); but this work is late (early 20th century) and carries less weight.

[1] *MBTJ*, f. 55a; *K. Ann.*, pp. 438-439 (transl. p. 44).

[2] Actually this title occurs only once in the Tibetan texts, under the date of the 9th month of 1705; *A2PC*, f. 227b. Let us also remark that the *A2PC* drops henceforward the style of prince (*rgyal-sras*) and the name Lha-bzaṅ and employs only the title of king (*rgyal-po*) or of bsTan-'dsin C'os-kyi-rgyal-po.

[3] W. Heissig, Ergänzungen etc., p. 75.

[4] *MBTJ*, f. 55a-b.

[5] *A2PC*, ff. 227b-228b.

[6] *Dad pa'i 'dab rgyas* f. 21a.

This he sought and found in the K'ang-hsi emperor (1661-1722), the greatest ruler of the Manchu dynasty. K'ang-hsi, whose politics were then mainly directed against the young and rising kingdom of the Dsungars in the Ili valley, was becoming much interested in Tibetan affairs. This was not so much for strategic reasons (Tibet was, and has always been, a military backwater), but because of the religious relations between the Holy See of Lhasa and the Lamaist monarchy in Ili. The *sde-srid* had always been notoriously pro-Dsungar,[1] and was known to have entered a compact with dGa'-ldan, ruler of the Dsungars from 1676 to 1697. If the Dsungars succeeded in drawing the Dalai-Lama to their side, this would seriously affect the loyalty of the Mongol princes, who occupied an important strategic position and supplied China with a considerable percentage of the troops serving on the Western frontier. K'ang-hsi was therefore eager to secure at the earliest opportunity some political influence in Tibet. To obtain this, it was only necessary to give a positive content, through diplomatic and military action, to the old moral supremacy over Tibet, which the Chinese emperor had enjoyed since the times of the Yüan dynasty. This religious-political incentive is the main spring of K'ang-hsi's actions, and from this angle we must view Chinese activity in the period under review.

Lajang Khan readily found out that the ideas of the emperor concurred with his own and that he could count on his friendship and moral support. As soon as the *sde-srid* had been eliminated, the Qōšot Khan sent a report of his action to the emperor, who approved of it wholeheartedly.

He sent to Tibet the Manchu lieutenant-colonel[2] Hsi-chu 席柱

[1] Zahiruddin Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan relations in the seventeenth century*, Rome 1970, pp. 254-323.

[2] *Hu-chün-ts'an-ling* 護軍參領. Cfr. W. F. Mayers, *The Chinese government*, Shanghai 1878, n. 398. Mayers is still the best manual available for Ch'ing official nomenclature. Hoang's *Mélanges sur l'administration*, Shanghai 1902, adds little material of any importance. Brunnert & Hagelstrom, *Present day political organization of China*, Shanghai 1912, gives only Mayer's materials, completed and brought up to date according to the reforms of the last years of the dynasty, but is of not much use for early 18th century conditions. The Manchu titles are conveniently collected and studied in Nieh Ch'ung-ch'i 聶崇岐, *Man-kuan han-shih* 滿官漢釋 (Manchu official titles with Chinese explanations), in *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, n. 32 (June 1947), pp. 97-116.

to convey to Lajang Khan the title of I-fa-kung-shun-han 翊法恭順汗 (religious and devoted Khan), and to stiffen his back in the proposed action against the Dalai-Lama.[1] But on this point K'ang-hsi had to walk warily. He had reached the conclusion, to which he was forced chiefly by the general opinion of his court, that the Dalai-Lama was illegitimate and spurious. But, as he expressed himself to his council, "all the Mongols wholeheartedly obey the Dalai-Lama; although he is spurious, he still has the name of a Dalai-Lama and all the Mongols follow him". Much caution was therefore needed if K'ang-hsi wanted to avoid a conflagration in Mongolia and Kukunor. Lajang Khan himself recommended prudence. The emperor had ordered the Dalai-Lama to be sent to Peking; but Lajang Khan feared a strong reaction among the Tibet lamas, and begged that the proposed action be postponed. Nevertheless the emperor sent him through P'yag-na-rdo-rje (Shang-nan-to-êrh-chi 商南多爾濟), the chief lama of Köke-qoton,[2] then residing at Hsi-ning, positive orders to arrest the Dalai-Lama and to send him to the capital.[3]

Lajang Khan now had to comply; if he had at first demurred, it was for reasons of expediency, but he too was fully convinced of the necessity of eliminating the Dalai-Lama. He tried to carry out his task in a legal way. To this purpose he summoned a meeting of the leading churchmen, presided over by the K'ri Rin-po-c'e Don-grub-rgya-mts'o, in order to obtain the disavowal of the unworthy Dalai-Lama as an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara. But the K'ri Rin-po-c'e, the great nobleman sTag-rtse-pa and the other members of the meeting decided that Ts'aṅs-dbyaṅs-rgya-mts'o was the rightful Dalai-Lama; although shocked at his behaviour, they dared not depose him and limited themselves to a declaration that the spiritual enlightment (*bodhi*) no longer dwelt in him. Lajang did not succeed in persuading them to go beyond this. Nevertheless he decided to take action even on this doubtful response. On 1/V = June 11th, 1706, the Dalai-Lama was taken out of the Potala and

[1] Some members of the Chinese mission went to bKra-śis-lhun-po, where they were received by the Paṇ-c'en in the 4th month of 1706; *A2PC*, f. 230b.

[2] *K. Ann.*, p. 437 (transl. p. 43). For other mentions of this lama, who acted as a sort of diplomatic agent for the emperor, see K. Sagaster, *Subud Erike, "Ein Rosenkranz aus Perlen"*, Wiesbaden 1967, pp. 105-106. Already in 1696 he had visited the Paṇ-c'en; *A2PC*, f. 146b.

[3] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 227, ff. 9a-b, 10a, 24a-25a. Cf. *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, ff. 12b-13a.

brought to the Lha-klu dGa'-ts'al gardens near Lhasa.[1] The Potala and the Lha-klu dGa'-ts'al were surrounded by Lajang Khan's men. A large crowd, foremost among them the monks of the three great monasteries (dGa'-ldan, Se-ra and 'Bras-spuṅs), massed themselves round the gardens in order to see the Dalai-Lama; but they were driven back by the troops, who made use of their arms. On the 17/V = June 27th the Dalai-Lama was declared deposed. The Chinese envoy Hsi-chu intimated to him the imperial summons to Peking, and the Dalai-Lama started for his last journey on earth. He was followed by an infuriated crowd of monks, some of whom requested the K'ri Rin-po-c'e to place himself at their head. While they passed through Dam-'bag-gliṅ-k'a, not far from 'Bras-spuṅs, the crowd, which was now pressing too closely, was violently driven back by a Qōšot officer. This was the last straw. The mob, led by the monks of 'Bras-spuṅs, though unarmed, attacked the escort with sticks and stones, overpowered it, released the Dalai-Lama and brought him in triumph to his summer residence, the dGa'-ldan palace in 'Bras-spuṅs. On the next day, the monks summoned the state oracle (the gNas-c'uṅ C'os-skyoṅ) and asked for a revelation about the Sixth Dalai-Lama. The C'os-skyoṅ proclaimed that whoever denied that Ts'aṅs-dbyaṅs-rgya-mts'o was the incarnation of the Great Fifth, was snared by devilish illusions. This oracle was greeted with great enthusiasm by the monks, who were ready to defend the Dalai-Lama to the last.

But on the next day (19/V = June 29th) the troops of Lajang Khan advanced from the lCaṅ-bsruṅs-k'aṅ house towards the dGa'-ldan palace, supported by artillery fire (*me-skyogs*). They surrounded the monastery, directed a hail of missiles on it, and prepared to set it on fire. The desperate resistance of the ill-armed monks, led by the K'ri Rin-po-c'e, was clearly useless. In order to avoid a general massacre, the Dalai-Lama came out of the palace with only a few companions, and after these had fallen fighting to the last man, he allowed himself to be taken by the Qōšots. 'Bras-spuṅs was nevertheless stormed and sacked. The Dalai-Lama was sent again on his journey to Peking, via Hsi-ning, this time in charge of a Mongol officer in the Chinese service, the *bičēči* (writer) Padma.

[1] It is the Lhalu mansions, in the plain t › the N.-W. of the Potala, which were the headquarters of the British mission in 1904. Waddell, p. 355.

But on the way thither, he died near Kun-dga'-nor lake [1] on the 10/X = November 14th, 1706.[2] Popular rumour, preserved by the Italian missionaries, believed him to have been executed or murdered.[3] But the official account, both Chinese [4] and Tibetan,[5] maintains that he died of illness, and I think there is no sufficient reason for doubting that this is true.

Incidentally, we may remark that on this occasion (June 1706) Lajang got rid also of Sańs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o's eldest son Ńag-dbań-rin-c'en, who had continued till then as the titular *sde-srid*, devoid of any power or political importance; he was deposed and sent to China along with his brother, in the train of the exiled Dalai-Lama. But, more lucky than the latter, he actually reached Peking and was then settled at Dolon-nor in Chahar.[6] In 1717 he was received at sKu-'bum by the Li-t'ang pretender; [7] and this is the last information we have about him.

Having thus eliminated as spurious the Sixth Dalai-Lama, the consequence was that the true incarnation of the preceding Dalai-Lama, the Great Fifth, had still to be found. And accordingly Lajang Khan presented as such a monk of the lCags-po-ri medical college in Lhasa, bearing the title of Mon-pa Pad-dkar-'dsin-pa,

---

[1] Gungga-nor, a small lakelet to the south of the Kukunor. See W. W. Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet*, Washington 1894, p. 118.

[2] This account of the end of the Sixth Dalai-Lama is based mainly on the biography of the 48th K'ri Rin-po-c'e (vol. *K'a*), ff. 6a-8a; on *K. Ann*, p. 439 (transl. p. 45); and on *L7DL*, ff. 10a-11b. Cfr. also *A2PC*, f. 231b; Kloń-rdol, vol. *Za*, f. 21a; *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzań* (by Sum-pa mK'an-po, edited by Sarat Chandra Das, Calcutta 1908, vol. II), p. 304; A. Giorgi, *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, Rome 1762, pp. 251-252.

[3] Desideri, in *MITN*, VI, p. 42; the account of Fr. Domenico da Fano (1714), in *MITN*, III, p. 6; Della Penna, in *MITN*, III, p. 62.

[4] On *kêng-hsü*/XII = January 29th, 1707, P'yag-na-rdo-rje reported to Peking that the spurious Dalai-Lama had been sent by Lajang Khan to court, that he had arrived outside the frontier pass of Hsining and had died there of illness. The emperor ordered his corpse to be thrown away, a deliberate and deep insult which denied to the dead man the funeral honours befitting his rank. *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 227, f. 28b. *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, ch. 525 (*Fan-pu* 8), p. 1640a. *Shêng-wu-chi*, V, f. 6a.

[5] *L7DL*, f. 11a. *Re'u-mig* (ed. Lokesh Chandra), p. 75. Same version in A. Giorgi, Op. cit., p. 252.

[6] *K. Ann.*, p. 439 (transl. p. 45).

[7] *L7DL*, f. 41a. This text gives no names, but speaks only of the two elder sons of the *sde-srid* Sańs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o. In 1718 the two younger sons too paid their respects; *L7DL*, f. 47b.

who was born in 1686 at Ts'a-roṅ in K'ams [1] and was rumoured to be Lajang Khan's natural son; [2] in 1699 he had been admitted as a novice in 'Bras-spuṅs.[3] In 1707 the Paṇ-c'en installed him on the see of the Potala under the style of Ṅag-dbaṅ-ye-śes-rgya-mts'o; the ceremony was witnessed by a large gathering of high Lamas.[4]

As was to be expected, the action of Lajang Khan provoked the strongest resentment among the Mongols, and all Kukunor was soon restless. The nobles there were mostly Qōśots, belonging to the branch of the clan issued from Guśri Khan's younger sons. It was thus a sort of clan affair, and they were keenly debating the question. The emperor did what he could to calm their apprehensions, supporting at the same time his ally Lajang Khan. Late in 1707 [5] he sent the sub-chancellor of the Grand Secretariat [6] La-tu-hun 拉都渾 to Tibet; he was to bring along with him the representatives of all the Kukunor chiefs, and to investigate the matter in their presence. Everything was done according to the emperor's orders. Lajang Khan reported to La-tu-hun the particulars of the installation of the new Dalai-Lama. As this was not enough, in the 7th month of the following year La-tu-hun with the Kukunor chiefs went to bKra-śis-lhun-po and asked for the opinion of the Paṇ-c'en; [7] of course the second head of the Lamaist Church upheld the legitimacy of the man he had consecrated. Nevertheless, when the findings of this investigation were reported to the emperor, he did not at once draw the logical consequences from it; the fact was that the Kukunor princes had shown themselves bitterly hostile to Lajang Khan and his puppet.[8] In 1709 K'ang-hsi decided to delay the recognition of the Dalai-Lama till he was older, and in the meantime not to leave Lajang Khan alone in charge of Tibetan administration, but to send an imperial representative to supervise him. For this post he selected

---

[1] Biography of the 48th K'ri Rin-po-c'e, ff. 6a and 8b. *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 179. *Re'u-mig* (ed. Lokesh Chandra), p. 75. *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 304.

[2] *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 179; Domenico da Fano, in *MITN*, III, p. 6.

[3] *Re'u-mig* (ed. Lokesh Chandra), p. 74.

[4] *A2PC*, f. 236a; *K. Ann.*, p. 439 (transl. p. 45).

[5] According to a letter of Fr. Giuseppe da Ascoli, dated Lhasa, January 27th, 1708, in *MITN*, I, p. 38.

[6] *Nei-ko hsüeh-shih* 內閣學士. Mayers, n. 143.

[7] *A2PC* f. 248b.

[8] This hostility went back to the last years of the 17th century; L. Petech, Notes on Tibetan history etc., pp. 268-269.

the vice-president[1] Ho-shou 赫壽,[2] who travelled to Lhasa accompanied by a large retinue and by representatives of the lCaṅ-skya Qutuqtu and of the Jecün Damba Qutuqtu of the Khalkha.[3] His task was "to support Lajang Khan against the disaffected and to finish restoring order among the lamas partisans of the *sde-srid*". Besides, he had another mission, of a quite different order. In 1708 emperor K'ang-hsi had decided to have his huge empire mapped out, and had entrusted the task to the Jesuit missionaries of Peking, foremost among them Father J. B. Régis. Tibet was not included in their range of work; but the Chinese envoy to Lhasa had been ordered to have a map of Tibet drawn. He "had brought with him some people of his Secretariat, and during the more than two years that he passed in Tibet, he caused them to prepare the maps of all the countries immediately subject to the Dalai-Lama".[4] Upon Ho-shou's return to China, his sketches were presented to Father Régis (1711). They are at the basis of the four maps of Tibet (nn. 16-19) in the older set (in 28 sheets) of the Jesuit atlas of China.[5]

The mission of Ho-shou was a first attempt to establish a sort of protectorate in Tibet. But the imperial envoy was not backed by Chinese troops in Lhasa, and was thus depending on the goodwill of Lajang Khan, in spite of his pompous official title of administrator of Tibetan affairs (*kuan-li hsi-tsang shih-wu* 管理西藏事務). K'ang-hsi, always a realist, soon perceived that his scheme did not work, and boldly faced the consequences. On *wu-yin*/III = April 10th, 1710, he passed order for the regular installation of the Dalai-Lama,

[1] *Shih-lang* 侍郎. Mayers, n. 161.

[2] *Chi-hai*/I = March 8th, 1709. *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 236, ff. 17a-18b. *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, ch. 8 (*Pên-chi* 8), p. 32c. F. Amiot in *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, XIV, 135; and in *Eine chinesische Beschreibung von Tibet*, p. 20. The biography of Ho-shou is found in the *Man-chou-ming-ch'ên-chuan* 滿洲名臣傳, ch. 23, ff. 52a-57b, in the *Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan* 清史列傳, ch. 11, ff. 11b-13b and in the *Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien lei-cheng* 國朝耆獻類徵, ch. 62, ff. 2a-4a. He was a Manchu of the Plain Yellow Banner. After his short stay in Tibet, he was posted in Kiangsi and was later employed in the Mongolian Superintendency (*Li-fan-yüan*), where he rose to be its president (*shang-shu* 尚書, Mayers, n. 160). He died in October/November 1719.

[3] K. Sagaster, op. cit., p. 132.

[4] J.-B. Du Halde, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise*, Paris 1735, vol. IV, p. 459.

[5] W. Fuchs, *Der Jesuiten-Atlas der Kanghsi-Zeit* (Monumenta Serica Monograph IV), Peking 1943, pp. 14-18.

granting him a sealed document of investiture.[1] The imperial edict enjoined on all Tibetans obedience to the Dalai-Lama and to Lajang Khan. In return for this recognition and support, the Qōšot Khan had to promise an annual tribute, which the Capuchin missionaries say to have been equivalent to 95,000 Roman scudi.[2] A little afterwards (apparently at the beginning of 1711), Ho-shou went back to China.[3] This Manchu official chances to have an important place in history: he was the first Chinese resident in Tibet, and at the same time the founder of the cartography of Tibet. But for the moment his post was not filled again, and the residency of Lhasa was discontinued.[4] Lajang Khan was thus left supreme in Tibet.

So far, it seemed that everything had gone according to plan and that Lajang Khan, with his puppet Dalai-Lama, was firmly established as the ruler of the Land of Snows. The country was now so safe, that in the years 1715-1717 the Jesuit cartographers of Peking, having found Ho-shou's materials unsatisfactory, could organize and carry out the great survey of Tibet by means of two lamas, whom they had trained in geometry and arithmetic.[5] The results of this survey were embodied in the map of Tibet included in the great atlas of China presented to the emperor in 1718.

But the quiet and order were only apparent. The fact was that Lajang Khan had made a grievous miscalculation in his church policy. Although the Sixth Dalai-Lama had not enjoyed much personal respect, the Tibetans, and above all the clergy, strongly resented any interference with the consecrated mode of succession. Ts'aṅs-dbyaṅs-rgya-mts'o, however unworthy, had still been the rightful Dalai-Lama. Lajang Khan could impose his puppet on the lamas by force, but they would not accept him in their hearts as the true incarnation of Avalokiteśvara. This state of latent tension was sharply increased when a report was heard at Lhasa that the incarnation of the Sixth Dalai-Lama had been found in

---

[1] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 241, ff. 14b-15a. *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, ch. 8 (*Pên-chi* 8), p. 33a. *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, ff. 13b-14a. *Re'u-mig*, p. 75.

[2] Fr. Domenico da Fano, in *MITN*, III, p. 7.

[3] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 244, f. 21a.

[4] The *Ch'ing-shih-kao* characterizes accurately the event with the following words: "This therefore was the first time that in Tibet the office of resident was set up; but it was not a permanent institution"; ch. 525 (*Fan-pu* 8), p. 33a.

[5] J.-B. Du Halde, vol. IV, p. 460.

Eastern Tibet, in accordance with a prophecy made by Ts'aṅs-dbyaṅs-rgya-mts'o himself.

bSod-nams-dar-rgyas (d. 1744), the father of this new incarnation, is an important figure in the history of this period, as he was for a long time the real power behind his infant son, till his influence was broken by the events of 1727/8. He was born at rGyal-mk'ar-rtse (Gyantse), and belonged to a family from 'P'yoṅ-rgyas, who were old retainers of the princes of Ñaṅ-stod.[1] A lusty strong man of about seven Italian feet and a half, very tall for a Tibetan,[2] he became a monk at 'Bras-spuṅs. Later he was sent by the administrator of that monastery to Li-t'ang in Eastern Tibet; according to the Capuchins, he was expelled from 'Bras-spuṅs because of his having relations with women. Anyhow, at Li-t'ang he turned layman and married Blo-bzaṅ-c'os-'ts'o, of the A-ži-ts'aṅ village.[3] A son was born to them on the 19/VII = September 3rd, 1708,[4] and the lamas of the local monastery [5] at once recognized him as the reincarnation of the deceased Dalai-Lama. The fame of this event soon spread to Kukunor. The descendants of Guśri Khan living there had always been jealous of their cousins in Tibet; and, possibly prompted also by the Lamas, they saw here a possibility to lower Lajang Khan's exalted position, in spite of Manchu protection. As usual in Lamaist countries, a political intent was clothed in religious garb. In 1712 two of the formost Kukunor princes declared openly that the Li-t'aṅ boy was the reincarnation of the Sixth Dalai-Lama; their names are given in the Tibetan texts as Čingwang Bātur Taiji and Junwang Galdan Erdeni J̌inong.[6] The first of the two, called Bathor Tacy by the missionaries,[7] was Guśri Khan's youngest son Daśi Bātur (1632-1714), the paramount chief of the

[1] On 'P'yoṅ-rgyas and its ruling family, to whom the Fifth Dalai-Lama belonged, see G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, pp. 27, 57-58, 609-610. On Ñaṅ-stod see G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. IV p. I, Rome 1941, pp. 49 and 54-56; on its princes, ibid., pp. 78-84.

[2] Thus he is described in 1741, when he was about seventy, by Father Cassiano Beligatti, in *MITN*, IV, p. 121.

[3] *L7DL*, ff. 13a-15a. *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, f. 13b.

[4] According to the *Wei-tsang-t'u-chih*, in *JRAS* 1891, p. 41, the Dalai-Lama's birthplace was the hamlet of Ch'a-ma-chung near Li-t'ang

[5] Li-t'aṅ T'ub-c'en-byams-gliṅ. Founded in the 16th century by the Third Dalai-Lama bSod-nams-rgya-mts'o. *Vaidūrya-ser-po*, f. 289b.

[6] *L7DL*, f. 17a-b.

[7] A. Giorgi, *op. cit.*, pp. 332 and 333.

Kukunor Qōšots since about 1660.[1] His was a pale figure and he played a rather defaced role.Of less standing but greater political importance was his colleague, called Amdomba (A-mdo-ba) by the missionaries.[2] His real name was Daičing Qošōči Caγan Danjin, (d. 1735). He was the third son of Bošoγtu J̌inong, who in his turn was a grandson of Gušri Khan. He was much honoured by the emperors and had also some family connection with the Dsungar ruler Galdan. His descendants, the Huang-ho Nan *ch'ing-wang*, ruled over the district around the Bla-braṅ monastery down to the advent of Communism in China; in the 19th century they became thoroughly Tibetanized.[3]

Since two of the greates Qōšot princes showed their interest in the child of Li-t'aṅg,[4] Lajang Khan, who at first seems to have taken the matter lightly, had to something about it. Thus he sent some officers to Li-t'ang to make enquiries. Although the state oracle of Lhasa, the gNas-c'uṅ *c'os-skyoṅ*, had already recognized the new incarnation, these officers declared him to be a fraud.[5]

But the Qōšot princes continued to support him, and Lajang eventually sent again two envoys to Li-t'ang. Their intentions were only too apparent, and before their arrival the father thought it necessary to remove his son out of danger; ont the 4/I (February 17th) 1714 they left for sDe-dge (Derge) monastery.[6] They reached it in safety, under the protection of sDe-dge troops and of Mongol tribesmen. Though the boy was in safety there, it was a makeshift arrangement which could not last. Accordingly, J̌unwang dGa'-ldan Erdeni Ju-naṅ summoned a meeting of the Mongol chiefs of Kukunor to discuss the matter. Although the J̌unwang pressed for direct action against Lajang Khan,[7] the assembly merely decided to offer their protection to the *qubilγan*, and to apply to the Chinese emperor for recognition.[8] The boy journed to mTs'o-k'a, i.e. the Kukunor

[1] L. Petech, Notes on Tibetan history etc., pp. 281-282.

[2] A. Giorgi, Loc. cit.

[3] L. Petech, Notes on Tibetan history etc., pp. 282-283.

[4] About that time Caγan Danjin sent a *jaisang* as a permanent resident in Li-t'ang. In 1718 this man was, rightly or wrongly, suspected by the Manchus to have secret intercourse with the Dsungars; E. Haenisch, Die Eroberung von Tibet, pp. 227-228.

[5] *L7DL*, f. 18a-b. Biography of the 48th K'ri Rin-po-r'c, f. 8a.

[6] *L7DL*, f. 20a.

[7] A. Giorgi, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

[8] *L7DL*, f. 22a. We know from Tibetan sources that an invasion from

region,[1] where he was enthusiastically received and fêted by the Mongols. But the second part of the programme failed. When the memorial of the Mongol chiefs was received at Peking, the first reaction of the emperor was an order to send the new *qubilγan* to the capital, so that His Majesty could examine him personally. In 1712, as soon as the rumours about the new incarnation reached Peking, the emperor had sent to bKra-śis-lhun-po a mission headed by the Jasak Lama dGe-legs-c'os-'p'el.[2] Their task was to ascertain whether the Paṇ-c'en acknowledged or not the legitimacy of the new incarnation. The Mongol chiefs, loth to part with the boy, asked for a delay; it was granted, the *qubilγan* being in the meantime directed to stay in a monastery inside the frontier pass of Hsining. When the imperal messenger came back from Tibet, he brought the Paṇ-c'en's disavowal of the boy. Thereupon Caγan Danjin and other chiefs applied to the emperor for permission to travel to Tibet to discuss the matter with the Paṇ-c'en. But K'ang-hsi would hear nothing more of this troublesome matter. On *hsin-wei*/IV = May 8th, 1715, he ordered the guards officer [3] Ačitu 阿齊圖 (in the *L7DL*: A-c'i-t'u K'i-yā) to assemble the Kukunor chiefs and to intimate to them the imperial will: the boy and his father, who in the meantime had reached the Kukunor, should be interned for the time being in the Hung-shan 紅山 (dMar-po-ri?) monastery.[4] K'ang-hsi had thus decided to keep under his hand the new incarnate, even though he was not ready to recognize him as such. Probably he thought it better to have a reserve pawn in the game, in case Lajang should fail to impose his puppet on the clergy of Tibet.

The imperial order was badly received by Caγan Danjin and his faction. They declared to Ačitu that the new *qubilγan* was still too young and had not yet had the smallpox, and that therefore it was inadvisable to make him travel in that year.[5] The ferment among Kukunor was seriously apprehended in Lhasa, and that military precautions were taken on the north-eastern frontier; *MBTJ*, ff. 90a-91b.

[1] *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 179.

[2] *A2PC*, f. 263a.

[3] Manchu *hiya*, Chinese *shih-wei* 侍衛. Mayers, n. 97.

[4] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 263, ff. 4b-5b; cf. *L7DL*, f. 24b. The Hung-shan monastery is a small and obscure establishment, 60 *li* to the south of Ch'ü-t'an in the Monguor country. It was destroyed by Tibetan nomads in 1519, but was rebuilt later. L. M. J. Schram, *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan border*, II, Philadelphia 1957, pp. 21-23.

[5] Information received on *hsin yu*/IX = October 25th, 1715; *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 265, f. 13a-b. Cf. *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 10, ff. 31b-32a.

the chiefs mounted so high that the fear arose that Caγan Danjin would embark upon a military adventure; therefore Lajang deemed it advisable to take some precautions, about which we shall have occasion to speak later (see p. 28). On the other side there was also a party among the princes who advocated submission under the imperial will. It was headed by Sebtenjal (Ts'e-brtan-rgyal), who was not a Qōšot at all, but the chief of that branch of the Dsungars who, led by his father Jotba Bātur, had migrated to the Kukunor and had settled there.[1]

But no war broke out, neither between Lajang and his Kukunor relatives, nor between the two Kukunor factions. The emperor, apprehending a conflict, took serious military measures, mobilizing 1000 Manchu bannermen of Hsi-an fu and 3000 other troops (January 14th, 1716).[2] At the same time the Paṇ-c'en sent a mission to conciliate the differences in Kukunor, which reacted unfavourably on the financial situation of the great Tibetan monasteries; the unrest among the Kukunor chiefs and their hostility against Lajang Khan had caused a slackening of the steady flow of donatives which the Tibetan monasteries used to receive from Mongolia.[3] The diplomacy of the Paṇ-c'en and the firmness of the emperor soon produced their effect. Caγan Danjin saw reason and yielded with a good grace, begging only that the *qubilγan* be allowed to reside in the great monastery of sKu-'bum (Kumbum), the birth place of gTsoṅ-k'a-pa. The request was granted, and on 15/III = April 18th the boy, who was still waiting in mTs'o-k'a, received the imperial order to betake himself to sKu-'bum.[4] He arrived there in the 7th month (August) of 1715. His father did not lose time there. He cultivated good relations with the Mongol commanders in the Chinese army watching the border against the Dsungars, and started friendships with Tibetan grandees coming there from various parts of Tibet.[5]

The presence of the new pretender at Hsining under what amounted to Chinese protection was a definite setback for Lajang Khan. Imperial support, it is true, did not fail him to the end.

---

[1] On him see L. Petech, Notes on Tibetan history etc., p. 284.

[2] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 266, ff. 17a-18a.

[3] *A2PC*, ff. 274b-275a.

[4] *Chi-mao*/III = May 5th, 1716; *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 268, ff. 4b-5b. *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 10, f. 33a. Cf. *K. Ann.*, p. 439 (transl. p. 45).

[5] *L7DL*, ff. 28a and 30a.

As late as the beginning of May 1717, shortly therefore the storm broke out, three imperial envoys with their suite had arrived in Lhasa. This mission is mentioned by Desideri [1] and by the Capuchins,[2] and is probably identical with the geographical mission sent out by the emperor in 1717 under the command of the secretary of the Mongolian Superintendency Śengju (Shêng-chu 勝主): they had orders to procure more detailed geographical information on Tibet (determination of coordinates and of the altitude of the chief mountains). The mission seems to have had no political importance, and is not mentioned in the *Shih-lu* and in *A2PC*. It remained in Lhasa during the first months of the Dsungar war and cooperated in the hasty strengthening of the walls of Lhasa.[3] But they left prior to the fall of the city and reached safely Peking [4] with their cartographical material. The latter was employed for the new maps of Tibet in the second woodprint set of the Jesuit atlas (in 32 sheets), published in 1721.[5] The first draft of the description of Tibet in the *Ta-ch'ing i-t'ung-chih* 大清一統志 (General Geography of the Ch'ing Empire) is also due to them.[6]

But Chinese support, however strong, could not balance an ecclesiastical policy that was completely wrong. Beside his ill-starred interference with the see of Lhasa, Lajang Khan was perhaps also showing too much attention to the Italian missionaries, and countenanced, or appeared to countenance, their oral and written polemics against Lamaism. Most probably the accounts of the missionaries are over-sanguine on this score, and Lajang Khan, with true Mongol tolerance, did nothing more than interest

[1] Letter of August 4th, 1718, in *MITN*, V, pp. 56-59. translated in English by Fr. Hosten, Letters and other papers of Fr. Ippolito Desideri S.J., in *JASB* 1938, pp. 658-665.

[2] Letters of Fr. Domenico da Fano dated Lhasa, May 23rd and June 26th, 1717; in *MITN*, I, pp. 92-93. Desideri and the Capuchins were earnestly requested, nay pressed, by the Chinese to proceed with them to Peking, but refused. Lajang Khan left them free in their decisions, although the Chinese envoy asked him to employ his authority in order to obtain the assent of the missionaries.

[3] Desideri, in *MITN*, VI, p. 48 n. 49.

[4] In 1718 they gave to the Manchu commander Erentei a report on the events in 'Dam; Haenisch, Eroberung von Tibet, pp. 218-219.

[5] On the Chinese surveys of Tibet see W. Fuchs, *Der Jesuiten-Atlas der Kanghsi-Zeit*, pp. 12-18.

[6] Fr. Amiot in *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, XIV, 154-155, and in *Eine chinesische Beschreibung von Tibet*, p. 28.

himself in the peculiar theories and way of life of these foreigners.[1] But it is not to be excluded that this too contributed to make him thoroughly hated by the lamas. And slowly it became apparent that the powerful influence of the clergy was undermining Lajang Khan's seemingly unassailable position.

The other political factor in Tibetan history, the aristocracy, had always stood for an independent Tibet dominated by the nobles. They could not but be hostile to Lajang Khan's personal rule under Chinese protectorate, a regime which excluded them from the highest offices in the state. Over and above this, inspite of the jealousy felt by the aristocracy towards the clergy, Lajang-Khan's hostility to the rightful Dalai-Lama was too much even for the nobles, who became either lukewarm or downright hostile. There were of course some notable exceptions; several nobles still held full loyalty to Lajang Khan. Among them was a young man of great promise, whose future career was to contribute a great deal towards shaping the history of Tibet in the coming years: bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas of P'o-lha. It is therefore not out of place to give here a short sketch of his life before 1717.

His father Padma-rgyal-po [2] had been a general under the Lhasa

[1] Lhasa was then open to all traffic with the south. Not only the missionaries had found no difficulty in establishing themselves there, but in 1717 there arrived in Lhasa a Frenchman, the first European layman who set foot in the holy city. But of this pioneer (evidently a trader) we do not know even the name. All that we have is a stray reference in a letter of Fr. Domenico da Fano dated Lhasa, April 25th, 1717, *in MITN*, I, pp. 86-87. "I do not know whether the news is true which I hear from a Frenchman who has arrived in these parts and who has been at Patna for some time, and then has gone to Nepal, and thence has come to Lhasa, without bringing me a single line front the Capuchin Fathers; he excused himself by saying that he had had no intention to make this journey. But he tells me that the yearly remittances from Rome have not arrived" (*Non so se sia vera la novella che intendo da un francese capitato in queste parti, il quale è stato in Patna qualche tempo, poi è andato a Nekpal e di là è venuto a Lhasa, senza portarmi neppure un verso de' PP., scusandosi di non havere avuta intenzione di fare questo cammino. Egli però mi asserisce non essere venute le annate da Roma*). And again: "This Frenchman tells me that in a short while the Fathers Angelico of Brescia and Bonaventura of Lapedona will arrive here" (*Questo francese mi dice che in breve giungeranno qui li PP. Angelico da Brescia e Bonaventura dalla Pedona*). And that is all. I wonder whether it will ever possible to identify this unknown traveller; perhaps something could be found in the registers of the French factory in Patna, if they still exist.

[2] Probably identical with P'o-lha-rdson-pa mentioned in 1670 in the

government and had fought in the Ladakh war of 1679-1684.[1] He was afterward magistrate at gÑa'-nań,[2] and fought against the Bhutanese and the Nepalese.[3] He then married sGrol-ma-bu-k'rid of sTag-luń sMan-dań [4] and was granted the estate of P'o-lha in gTsań.[5] Shortly afterwards (1689) a son was born to him and was later called bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas.[6] In 1697 the boy came to Lhasa for the first time with his father and elder brother and was introduced to the *sde-srid*.[7] He grew up in P'o-lha, in close relations (as was fitting for a gTsań noble) with his neighbour and spiritual superior, the Paṇ-c'en. He took then a course of studies at sMin-grol-gliń,[8] and to that rÑiń-ma-pa monastery he remained particularly attached during the whole of his life; at the end of 1705 he interceded in its favour with gZuń-dar Taiǰi, the leader of a Qōśot foray.[9]

About 1707 he married dPal-bzań-skyid, a girl belonging to the sKyid-sbug family.[10] Shortly after, the Kukunor prince Sebtenjal (mentioned above) came to gTsań on a visit to the Paṇ-c'en. He took a fancy to the promising youth, brought him to Lhasa and introduced him to Lajang Khan.[11] This was the beginning of a brilliant career. First of all, Lajang Khan confirmed him in his chiefship (his father had died early) [12] and granted him extensive estates in gTsań.[13] At the end of 1707 he was present at the reception in Lhasa of the Qalqa noblemen Lobjang Śerap and Taiǰi Lavang Jamco

---

Life of the 5th Dalai-Lama, C'a, f. 102b, and with P'o-lha-ba of 1678, in the same work, Ja, f. 77a.

[1] On which see L. Petech, The Tibetan-Ladakhi-Moghul war of 1681-1683, in *IHQ* 23 (1947), pp. 169-199, and Z. Ahmad, New light on the Tibet-Ladakh-Mughal war of 1679-1684, in *East and West*, 18 (1968), pp. 340-361.

[2] On the Nepalese border to the east of Kirong (sKyid-groń). Its capital is Kuti (gÑa'-lam).

[3] *MBTJ*, ff. 25a-26a.

[4] *MBTJ*, f. 29a.

[5] P'o-lha, not found in the maps, is in the hills to the west of the Ñań-c'u, due west of Gyantse. Wylie, p. 72 and n. 255.

[6] *MBTJ*, f. 31a-b.

[7] *MBTJ*, ff. 43a-46a.

[8] Index (*dkar-c'ag*) to the bKa'-'gyur of sNar-t'ań, ff. 32b-33a.

[9] *MBTJ*, ff. 65b-66a.

[10] *MBTJ*, ff. 71b-76b.

[11] *MBTJ*, ff. 80a-81a.

[12] *MBTJ*, f. 65b.

[13] *MBTJ*, ff. 81b-82a.

accompanying the Chinese envoy La-tu-hun.[1] Shortly afterwards he received a minor post (*bičēči*, writer) in the account department (*rtsis-k'aṅ*): it was there that he obtained a thorough training in revenue work and administration under the supervision of the steward (*gžis-gñer*) of Bya-pa.[2] After a while he was appointed district judge (*k'rims-kyi-k'a-lo-pa*) at Gyantse, the headquarters of Ñaṅ.[3]

At an unknown date, but presumably early in 1714, a conflict was apprehended with Caγan Danjin and the other Kukunor princes (see above), and Lajang Khan made some preparations for it, sending his eldest son Galdan Danjin with a small force to the Nag-c'u (Qara-usu) region. He was also informed that the men of Hor-k'a-gži had joined the hostile forces. P'o-lha-nas and Lha-rtse sKyid-sbug-pa (apparently a member of his wife's family) were despatched to deal with this new threat. They reached the Qara usu and went on by forced marches as far as the banks of the Śag-c'u (?) river. There P'o-lha-nas took by complete surprise the Hor-k'a-gži chief Uičing Taiji,[4] who surrendered without striking a blow. On his return P'o-lha-nas was thanked and richly rewarded by the Khan.[5] He took advantage of these marks of favour for seizing by force the castle of Rin-c'en-rtse of Srad, on which he claimed old rights. This seizure nearly provoked a conflict with Sikkim, but Lajang Khan supported him, and eventually the castle remained in his possession.[6]

Some time afterwards the Qōšot ministers transferred him and Ts'ul-k'rims[7] to mÑa'-ris sKor-gsum (Western Tibet) as magistrates; but P'o-lha-nas, unwilling to leave his home country, protested; and eventually the Khan rescinded the order.[8]

[1] *MBTJ*, f. 85a.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 87b-88a; Index (*dkar-c'ag*) to the bKa'-'gyur of sNar-t'aṅ, f. 33a.

[3] *MBTJ*, f. 88a.

[4] This might be the same as the Uičing Taji who was the elder brother of Ñag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mts'an, the Caγan Nomun Qān of sToṅ-'k'or; K. Sagaster, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[5] *MBTJ*, ff. 90a-92a.

[6] *MBTJ*, ff. 93b-94a. Rin-c'en-rtse is Rhe of the maps, on the Srad-c'u (Rhechu or Shapchu), to the south-west of Shigatse; see G. Tucci, *To Lhasa and beyond*, Rome 1956, pp. 159-160. Cf. Wylie, p. 72.

[7] He was the son of the Qōšot chief Tügüs Jaisang, who had led a wing of the invading Qōšot army in 1705.

[8] *MBTJ*, ff. 95b-98a.

In the war against Bhutan, which will be narrated below, P'o-lha-nas took an important part. His brilliant conduct in that unfortunate campaign drew upon him the attention of Lajang Khan, who suitably rewarded his zeal (with robes of honour etc.) and enrolled him among his personal attendants. In spite of his youth, P'o-lha-nas had thus rapidly risen to be one of the best and most trusted adjutants (*gser-yig-pa-c'en-po*) of Lajang Khan, to whom he was very devoted and of whom he spoke with affection even a long time after the tragic death of the Qōšot ruler.

P'o-lha-nas's career is fairly representative of the conduct of the gTsaṅ nobility, who as a whole seem to have been favourable to Lajang Khan. But among the aristocracy of dBus opposition was as strong as it was among the clergy.

On the other hand, the foreign policy of Lajang Khan was not so uniformly successful as to produce a lasting impression in the country. In his dealings with the Chinese emperor there was nothing to be proud of. His only independent enterprise was the Bhutanese war, and it was apparently no unqualified success. This we shall now proceed to narrate. Besides some stray references in the Chinese texts, our only source is the *MBTJ*; but its author is so intent in extolling the deeds of his hero, that we gain not much insight in the motives of the war, and still less in its outcome.

The war began in 1714 after a threatening exchange of letters between Lajang Khan and the Bhutanese ruler, whose name is not mentioned in the text. The Khan organized his invading army in three divisions. On the west, he led in person a division on the road to Pa-gro (Paro in Western Bhutan). In the centre, another division was sent towards the Bum-t'aṅ valley [1] under the command of Erke Daičing. Farthest to the east, toward the Nam-mk'a-ldiṅ lake, there was a third division under Baring Taiji and other commanders. In the centre division, general Erke Daičing commanded personally the centre brigade. Under him served 'Bum-t'aṅ-pa dNos-grub as commander of the left wing and P'o-lha-nas as commander of the right wing. Thus it happens that while we are fully informed about the movements of the Bum-t'aṅ force, we do not get even a glimpse of the action of the other divisions.

The advance of the second division began under happy omens. Starting from the meadows of Ža-mda', it crossed the Mon-la-dkar-

[1] Pumthang of the maps, in Eastern Bhutan.

c'uṅ pass [1] and descended the Bum-t'aṅ valley. They passed through Su-lu-rgyud-t'aṅ(?) and arrived at Śiṅ-sgo-ltag-gyoṅ, where they attacked and stormed a stockade which barred the way. Continuing to advance, the invaders came up against the strongly fortified castle of Bya-dkar.[2] P'o-lha-nas, remembering the experience of his father in the Ladakhi war, advised against an attempt at taking the castle by storm. The advice of the young officer remained unheeded, with the result that the assault was bloodily repulsed. The division then sat down before the castle, firmly occuping the surrounding strip of land.

But at this time there arrived a letter from Lajang Khan, ordering the withdrawal of the division. We do not know the reason for this, but it is only too easy to suppose that Lajang had not been successful on his front, and that his retreat entailed that of the other divisions. Of course such a move in the face of the enemy was fraught with great dangers. As soon as the invader moved away, the Bhutanese crowded on their flanks and rear, trying to cut off a part of the Tibetan forces. The rear-guard under 'Bum-t'aṅ-pa had a difficult stand, and P'o-lha-nas was ordered to come to their rescue. The dashing young officer carried away his and 'Bum-t'aṅ-pa's men with his example, and this surprise counterattack succeeded in scattering the enemy, who fled headlong as far back as Bya-dkar. After this the retreat was no longer hampered, and six days later the Tibetan border was reached at the Mon-la-dkar-c'uṅ pass. The campaign was over and the army was disbanded. While the other two commanders of his division went straight to Lhasa, P'o-lha-nas travelled to Ñaṅ-stod, where he met Lajang Khan; they went together to pay homage to the Paṇ-c'en at bKra-śis-lhun-po; then they returned to the capital.[3]

Although we do not know the terms of peace (if any was concluded), it is certain that the war had been a failure, or at the very best a draw. This lame result of Lajang Khan's only great campaign, coupled with the hostility of the clergy and of the dBus aristocracy, was not suited for establishing more firmly his insecure position.

[1] Monlakachung pass of the maps, at the head of the Pumthang valley.

[2] Chakadsong of the maps, Bya-gha of J. C. White, *Sikkim and Bhutan* London 1909; the the east of Tongsa.

[3] *MBTJ*, ff. 101a-111a. *A2PC*, ff. 268b-269a.

At the beginning of 1717 the situation in Tibet was rather uneasy. The natural trend of events pointed towards an increasing interference of China in Tibetan affairs. But this development was abruptly interrupted by an unexpected event: the Dsungar invasion.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DSUNGAR INVASION OF 1717

Chinese foreign policiy for nearly seventy years (1690-1758) was dominated by the tenacious struggle with the last of the nomad empires of Central Asia, that of the Lamaistic Mongol tribe of the Dsungars. This imposing conflict has been the object of detailed study by Courant in his fine book already quoted, to which I beg to refer for the events of the main campaigns outside the Tibetan theatre of operations.[1] In 1715 open war had broken out again, and each side was spying on the other for a chance to secure strategical advantages for the impending decisive struggle. We are not informed as to how the Tibetan expedition came to be decided in the councils of the Dsungar ruler Cewang Arabtan (Ts'e-dban-rab-brtan, 1697-1727).[2] The ostensible reason was the desire to avenge the death of the *sde-srid*.[3] But the real motives are obvious enough. Cewang Arabtan could not but view with the gravest concern the extension of Chinese influence over Tibet, through the alliance with Lajang Khan and the possession of such a reserve pawn in the game, as represented by the rightful Dalai-Lama. It was of the highest importance for the Dsungars to secure influence over Tibet, not so much on strategical grounds, for that road led nowhere, as because of religious-political reasons. The man who ruled over Tibet in harmony with the lamas was sure to have at his disposal the influence of the Lamaist church, a great factor of power in the Mongol world. As things then stood in Tibet, the only manner in which Dsungar intervention could be attempted with a fair hope of proving acceptable to the Tibetans, was to present it as a restoration of the rightful Dalai-Lama. As he was in the hands of the Chinese, it implied of course also the necessity of a raid to sKu-

[1] A good summary can also be found in R. Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, Paris 1941, pp. 605-622.

[2] The only hint, if we would trust it, about foreign influence on the decision is Giorgi's (p. 333) statement that Amdomba (i.e. Cayan Danjin) in 1714 instigated the Dsungars to invade Tibet.

[3] Fr. Amiot in *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, XIV, 134, and in *Eine chinesische Beschreibung von Tibet*, p. 20.

'bum, to rescue him and bring him to the Dsungar camp. It was a risky undertaking, but it was worth trying.

The Dsungar expedition was planned a long time beforehand, because the diplomatic preparations were careful and elaborate. Cewang Arabtan did all he could to lull Lajang Khan into a false sense of security. The best means for this purpose was, as so often happened in old Asia, a matrimonial alliance. Cewang Arabtan was already a close relative of Lajang's, having married the latter's sister. His son and successor Galdan Cering (dGa'-ldan-ts'e-riṅ) was born from this marriage.[1] Now he offered his daughter Boitalaq in marriage to Galdan Danjin (dGa'-ldan-bstan-'dsin), the eldest son of Lajang Khan, with a dowry of 100,000 taels; but he insisted on the wedding taking place in his territory. The Khan, on receiving Cewang Arabtan's letter, was suspicious and demurred for a long time. But he was finally overruled by his son, who even threatened suicide if not allowed to leave for Ili. Lajang Khan had to let him go with a retinue of 300 men. At the same time he sent his second son Surja with 600 men to the Kukunor region in order to ease possible diffidences on the part of the Chinese; Surja's presence near their frontier was to serve as a token of good faith.[2] The marriage took place in 1714[3]. I may add here that Galdan Danjin remained in Ili during the war: he was treated as a guest and resided in the neighbourhood of the Dsungar royal camp. At one time he was placed under surveillance, but not otherwise molested. But in 1721, after the disaster of the Dsungar army in Tibet, he was imprisoned and Boitalaq was given to Cewangjambu, a chief of the

[1] *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, 3rd part (ed. Lokesh Chandra), p. 158.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 115a-116b. Cfr. *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 259, ff. 4b-5b. The Lama surveyors of 1716/7 found prince Surja encamped to the east of Kukunor lake; his camp is marked there in sheet 9 of the Jesuit atlas, as reproduced by Fuchs. Surja or Sorja is the normal Mongol name; see W. Heissig, in *ZDMG* 1951, p. 440. The *MBTJ* uses consistently the Sanskritized form Surya.

[3] The emperor received the news on *i-hai*/VI = July 16th, 1714. Of course he was displeased by the event, and with his usual sharp judgement he foresaw that the Dsungar ruler would detain Lajang Khan's son for several years, and that there was trouble in store for his old friend, for which he had only himself to blame. K'ang-hsi knew also that, should anything happen to the Khan, he could not be succoured in time, because the distance was too great. But, as the emperor sadly concluded, he was powerless against Lajang Khan's folly and blindness to the dangers ahead. *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 259, ff. 4b-5a.

Qoit. He was charged with hostile magic and was done to death by pressing him between two red-hot cauldrons.[1]

On the occasion of the wedding, the Dsungar ruler asked for and obtained from Lajang Khan a sum of money (30,000 scudi according to the Capuchins) and 800 soldiers to serve him in his wars.[2] I think it is not often that a ruler succeeds in making his intended enemy pay the war expenses in advance!

Another measure taken by the Dsungar king was to place himself in correspondence with the lamas of the three great monasteries of Se-ra, 'Bras-spuṅs and dGa'ldan. He disclosed to them his intention to crush Lajang Khan and to restore the rightful Dalai-Lama to his see. He got an enthusiastic support from these seats of Lamaistic learning. The move was very clever; the king was ranging on his side the full-hearted support of what was, for all practical purposes, the public opinion of Tibet. The lamas in their turn by persuasion or bribe won over to the Dsungar cause some of the minister and retainers of Lajang Khan. Besides, they secretly sent to Cewang Arabtan, in small batches, a good number of their younger, stronger, and more warlike monks. These hardy mountaineers, fully familiar with the country and hardened to the strain of marching in the desert highlands of north-western Tibet, formed a welcome addition to the Dsungar expeditionary force.[3]

After these diplomatic preparations, came the military organition. The expeditionary force numbered 6000 men, and their leader was no less a man than Cering Donduk (Ts'e-riṅ-don-grub) the elder, a cousin of Cewang Arabtan;[4] under him served four generals:

[1] On Galdan Danjin see L. Petech, Notes on Tibetan history etc., p. 276. Both the K'ang-hsi emperor and Desideri believed wrongly that the prince was killed in 1717, as soon as his usefulness as decoy was at an end.

[2] Letter of Fr. Domenico da Fano dated Lhasa, May 29th, 1718, in *MITN*, I, p. 109.

[3] Desideri, in *MITN* VI pp. 45n, 46. The Jesuit Father was in a condition to know these things better than anybody else, because at that time he was residing in the Ra-mo-c'e monastery in Lhasa and at Se-ra; besides, he had no axe to grind when he wrote his account. Tibetan authors are nearly all of them anti-Dsungar (the one exception is Sum-pa mK'an-po), both because of the odious behaviour of the Dsungar in Lhasa and because of Chinese influence. They do not like to speak of the help which the Dsungar found in Tibet.

[4] Even after his failure in Tibet, he was still found by the Russian envoy Unkovskij to be the most important man in Dsungaria, though on cool

the *jaisang* Dugar, Tobči, Compil and Sanji.[1] His base was Khotan; from there he intended to march through north-western Tibet to the neighbourhoud of Nag-c'u-k'a, where he hoped to surprise Lajang Khan, unaware in his summer resort. At the same time a smaller body of only 300 men (we do not know under whom) was sent through Eastern Turkestan to sKu-'bum; its task was to surprise the monastery and to carry away the Li-t'ang boy, whom the Kukunor Qōšots maintained to be the rightful Dalai-Lama. The two divisions were then to meet at Nag-c'u-k'a, to escort the Dalai-Lama to Lhasa, and to establish him there as the protegee of the Dsungars. In order to screen, as long as possible, the movement from the watchful eyes of the Chinese, the Dsungars spread the rumour thas the Khotan army had been sent out to help Lajang Khan in his (long since finished) war against Bhutan.[2]

Cering Donduk started for Tibet in the 11th month (December

---

terms with the king. He died in or before 1743, when funeral rites were performed at Lhasa; *L7DL*, f. 303b.

[1] The first of them is called Dugar Sanduk in the Manchu text of Haenisch and in *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, f. 14b; gDugs-dkar 'Je-sańs of *A2PC*, ff. 278b and 284b, of *MBTJ*, f. 124a, of *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzań*, 3rd part (ed. Lokesh Chandra), p. 304, and of *K. Ann.*, p. 440 (transl. p. 46). He died of illness, probably still in Tibet; E. Kraft, *Zum Dsungarenkrieg im 18. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1953, p. 83.

Tobči is T'ob-c'i in *A2PC* and *K. Ann.*, loc. cit.; Cobči in *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, loc. cit. In July 1718 he accompanied Cering Conduk on his visit to bKra-śis lhun-po, and in May 1720 he was again there; *A2PC*, ff. 285a and 294b. He was killed on the retreat from Tibet with 500 men; Kraft, loc. cit.

Compil is C'os-'p'el in *MBTJ*, f. 122b; *A2PC*, ff. 278b and 284a; *K. Ann.*, loc. cit.; Coyimbal of the Mongol text translated by W. Heissig in *ZDMG* 1954, p. 407. In February and June 1719 he was in bKra-śis-lhun-po; *A2PC*, ff. 287a and 290a. In the same year he was reported to be crossing the Qara-usu and marching toward Kukunor; E. Haenisch, *Eroberung von Tibet*, p. 387. But the rumor was probably false. In the following year he was given the task of stopping Galbi in his march from Yünnan; Haenisch, Op. cit., p. 404. Possibly in connected with this assignment, in March 1720 he visited again bKra-śis-lhun-po; *A2PC*, f. 294b. But we hear nothing further of the matter, and apparently he retired without risking a combat. He arrived back in Ili three months after Cering Donduk, i.e. in May 1721; Kraft, loc. cit.

Sanji is the Sańs-rgyas of *A2PC*, f. 284a, and *K. Ann.*, loc. cit. The Chinese heard that he returned to Dsungaria in the 3rd month (April-May) of 1719; E. Haenisch, Op. cit., p. 302.

[2] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 273, f. 8a.

1716-January 1717).[1] The Dsungar army travelled over a most difficult route, which was later reopened for traffic with Sinkiang by the emperor Ch'ien-lung, but is now completely forgotten. As it is, on the average, perhaps the highest route in the world and leads over absolutely barren regions, the difficulty and hardships of such a journey can be easily imagined.[2]

After the departure of his son, Lajang Khan had gone to the thermal springs (*sman-gyi-c'u-bo*) in 'Ol-k'a for a bathing cure.[3] But there general 'Bum-t'aṅ-pa and some councillors began to grow suspicious (as usual in Tibetan texts these suspicious are couched in terms of dreams and visions); earlier Chinese warnings came back to their minds, and on their advice the Khan returned to Lhasa. And indeed, the alarm came immediately afterwards. bSod-nams-rgyal-po of K'aṅ-c'en in Śaṅs[4], then the governor of mṄa'-ris sKor-gsum (Western Tibet), got news of the Dsungar expedition, probably from the trade caravans, and wrote to Lajang Khan as follows: "Reports following one after the other from Yarkand have reached our ears to the effect that a Dsungar force of 5000 men has left that country and is advancing rowards mṄa'-ris. As we cannot know whether they are enemies or friends, I have mobilised the mṄa'-ris contingent and am marching to the border of the badlands (*sa-ṅan*). Kindly send me orders".[5] Lajang Khan's officers and courtiers were at first incredulous of such a treachery on the part of Lajang Khan's new relation. But they were soon undeceived. K'aṅ-c'en-nas's information was quite correct, except for the direction taken by the Dsungar troops, who only skirted mṄa'-ris without entering it. A little later Lajang Khan was startled by the news that "a Dsungar army numbering 6000, passing through paths which were unknown till now, has suddenly arrived in Nag-ts'aṅ,[6] proclaiming themselves to be the escort of the returning son of Lajang Khan,

---

[1] According to a report to the emperor by the Manchu general Funingga in Kansu. Haenisch, pp. 208-209 (= *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 273, f. 25b). Also E. Kraft, Op. cit., p. 34. Cf. *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 10, f. 37a.

[2] On this route see Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, vol. III, pp. 38-39 and 58-61.

[3] *MBTJ*, f. 116b.

[4] He is called by various titles in the Tibetan sources; in his last years nearly always he is styled Daičing Bātur. I prefer to call him K'aṅ-c'en-nas, also because of the Chinese transliteration K'ang-ch'i-nai 康濟鼐.

[5] *MBTJ*, f. 117a.

[6] The region of the lakes to the west and north-west of the Tengri-nor.

and have quartered themselves upon the trusting and misled population, who provide them with supplies".[1]

The mask was off. Though a tactical surprise had been impossible because of the enormous distances to be crossed, the strategical surprise was complete. Lajang had been caught entirely unprepared. He was by now an easy-going old man addicted to drink; he tried to rise to the occasion, but though he could fight and die like a hero, all his dispositions during this campaign display a lamentable lack of forethought and decision. He had just arrived at his favourite pastures in 'Dam (June 1717).[2] His second son Surja was just back from Kukunor, where he had married a girl of a princely family, and was celebrating the wedding in the company of his father. As soon as the Khan heard the news, he sent a party under his Mongol officer Aśita,[3] to reconnoitre and to discover the intentions of the newcomers. On the banks of the gNam-mts'o (Tengri-nor), Aśita had a brush with Dsungar advanced units, and was able to ascertain and to report to the Khan that a large hostile army was before them. Lajang Khan ordered P'o-lha-nas to issue immediately written orders for the mobilization of the levies of dBus and gTsaṅ and to go down to Lhasa to organize them. P'o-lha-nas carried out his task very quickly and was able to join again Lajang Khan in a short time. The Tibetan troops, infantry and cavalry, assembled with remarkable swiftness and were soon concentrated in 'Dam.[4] Along with these military preparations, Lajang Khan wrote to his friend the Chinese emperor, informing him that the Dsungar army had arrived in Tibet on 4/VII = August 10th, 1717, after having pillaged the Po-mu-pao 波木寶 clans in Nag-ts'aṅ, and that Cering Donduk was advancing against

---

[1] *MBTJ*, f. 117b. cf. *K. Ann.*, p. 439 (transl. p. 46).

[2] Desideri, in *MITN*, The above quoted letter of Fr. Domenico da Fano of June 26th, 1717. Desideri's account more or less agrees with the *MBTJ*'s narrative. According to him Lajang went to 'Dam believing the false report of his son's return. While engaged in preparations for the feast, he was warned of the impending surprise by his younger son arriving in all haste from Kukunor. — Nearly the same account was current among the Dsungars. Veselovskij, Posol'stvo k Zjungarskomu khuntaiži Cevan rabtanu kapitana ot artillerii Ivana Unkovskago, in *Zapiski Imp. Russ. Geogr. Obščestva, po otdeleniju etnografii*, X, 2 (1887), p. 191.

[3] *K. Ann.*, p. 439 (transl. p. 46).

[4] *MBTJ*, f. 118a.

him.[1] Incomprehensibly, he did not apply for help, and even left the emperor in uncertainty about his real intentions towards the Dsungars. I shall relate later the measures taken by the Chinese; but when Lajang Khan applied at last for Chinese intervention, events moved too swiftly; when his letter reached the emperor after a long delay during the 2nd month (March) of 1718, its sender had already been dead for about three months. At the same time the Khan tried to shield himself behind, or at least to obtain the mediation of the head of the Church; not his discredited puppet, but the revered and respected Paṇ-c'en. He summoned him to his headquarters in 'Dam, where he was to try the possibility of negotiations.[2]

The Dsungars had not been able able to follow up their initial advantage. They needed a short spell of rest after their terrible march through Byaṅ-t'aṅ. They had suffered serious losses from the hardships of the journey, and had arrived in Nag-ts'aṅ in a state of complete exhaustion.[3] Nevertheless Lajang Khan's position was worse than theirs. His own Qōśots seem to have been little more than a handful of men.[4] What Tibetan troops had been able to join him in a desperate hurry were, it is true, fairly numerous; [5] but they were not to be trusted beyond a certain point, owing to the avowed hostility of the lamas to Lajang Khan. Only superior generalship would have equalized the chances; and this was sadly lacking.

P'o-lha-nas, with a clever appraisal of the situation, had selected a strong defensive position: a mountain called K'u-'dus, dominating the countryside and easily defended by a few men. He suggested to the Khan that a company of matchlockmen should occupy the K'u-'dus. But he found himself opposed by T'ar-pa Erke Taiji, Lajang Khan's father-in-law,[6] an old Mongol who belittled

[1] Haenisch, *Eroberung von Tibet*, p. 211 (= *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 273, f. 23a-b). According to the *A2PC*, 1. 277b, they arrived in Nag-ts'aṅ on 10/VII = August 16th.

[2] *A2PC*, f. 287a-b.

[3] Report to the emperor by Lobjang Danjin, Qōśot prince of Kukunor. Haenisch, pp. 214-215 (= *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 274, ff. 20b-21a).

[4] The army with which in 1705 Lajang Khan marched on Lhasa included only 500 Mongol soldiers. *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, parts I-II, p. 165.

[5] The Jesuit Fathers in China calculated Lajang Khan's army at 20,000; Du Halde, IV, 464. This number seems rather exaggerated.

[6] Lajang Khan's wife Jerinraśi, from whom he had two sons (Galdan Danjin and Surja), had died in 1708; *MBTJ*, f. 88a, and cf. Fr. Domenico da Fano in *MITN*, III, p. 8. In 1713 he was still a widower; Fr. Domenico

these new-fangled ideas and insisted on the time-honoured manner of Mongol cavalry fighting in the plain. The other members of the council ranged themselves on his side.[1] Nevertheless P'o-lha-nas's advice was sound. Lajang Khan, whose army consisted for the greater part of Tibetan infantry, was hoplelessly outclassed in the cavalry. A strong defensive position would give him a chance to use his slow-firing matchlockmen with advantage against the Dsungar cavalry, which was still very poorly provided with fire-arms; the Chinese had done so with briiliant success at Joo-modo in 1696. The Swede Renat had begun his activity as gunmaker and cannon-founder with the Dsungars in 1716 only,[2] so that we may infer that Cering Donduk's army was still armed for the greater part in the traditional fashion. But Lajang Khan was not a great leader; he wavered and put off his decision till the Dsungars advanced towards 'Dam and occupied the K'u-'dus, while the Qōśots remained encamped in their beloved pastures; as bad a situation as could be imagined for an army reduced to the defensive.[3]

A council was finally assembled, and decided to accept battle. The fighting opened with a general volley of musketry, then the troops charged, and fighting at close quartes became general. At a certain moment some of Lajang Khan's units gave way, and P'o-lha-nas, who was then a sort of adjudant of the Khan, was sent to rally the fugitives, which he did with full success. The fight fizzled out without results, and each side returned to their encampments.[4] The Khan highly commended P'o-lha-nas for his valour and appointed him a commander (*dpuṅ gi k'a lo pa*) in his army. It was a right decision to take, but unfortunately it came too late, as the military situation had already worsened after the missed occupation of the fine positions in the hills.

The lack of cohesion and low fighting value Lajang Khan's troops was glaringly shown shortly afterwards. O-roṅ-pa, a Koṅ-po officer, had marched all night in order to occupy a hill in the rear

da Fano, loc. cit. In that year or shortly afterward he married a daughter of K'u-k'ul Erke Taiji, a Toryud descended from Ayuśi Khan, who had settled among the Dsungars and thence had come to Tibet. P'o-lha-nas acted as go-between on that occasion; *MBTJ*, f. 98b.

[1] *MBTJ*, f. 118b-119a.

[2] On Renat see Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, vol. I, pp. 253-261.

[3] *MBTJ*, f. 119b.

[4] *MBTJ*, f. 120a-b. The encounter took place on I/VIII; *A2PC*, f. 279a.

of the Dsungar camp. But some traitors in Lajang Khan's army had sent word of the move to the Dsungars, with the resultat that O-roṅ-pa found the hill (which he believed deserted) occupied by the Dsungars, and was shot down by a sudden volley while ascending the slopes. His fall utterly demoralized the Tibetan troops from Ñags-roṅ, Dvags-po and Koṅ-po, who began plotting to lay down arms. P'o-lha-nas, being appointed their new commander, succeeded however in averting the plot and keeping the troops together. Although the *MBTJ* is silent on this point, we know from Desideri that there was a real conspiracy among some of Lajang Khan's ministers, which was discovered by the vigilance of prince Surja. "The traitors were seized and the whole plan of battle altered owing to letters and preconcerted signals found in their possession. Thus king Lajang Khan with his small force gained a complete victory and was able to occupy a position commanding the road to Lhasa, and cutting the enemy's communications with any rebels inside the city".[1] Giorgi too speaks of the Dsungars being defeated at No-c'u-dkar (*sic*), and of their half-starved condition, because of which they were even thinking of retreat; he gives also the names of the traitors, who sided with the Dsungars, as Datses (sTag-rtse-pa, on whom see later) and Glag-sgya-ri (the chief of Lha-rgya-ri).[2] This "complete victory" is an obvious exaggeration of the good Father who felt a good deal of sympathy for Lajang Khan. The *MBTJ* makes it clear that there was no single great battle, but several encounters drawn out over a lengthy period. And the Khan himself, in a letter to the emperor, stated that in these fights there was neither winner nor defeated.[3] He had simply succeeded in stopping for the moment the advance of the enemy, which in itself was no mean achievement.

But a serious fact had come to light in the meantime. The troops from Central Tibet (from dBu-ru and gYu-ru in dBus, from gYas-ru and Ru-lag in gTsaṅ, from Byar, Dvags-po and Koṅ-po), and also some Turks, had been deeply infected by the clever Dsungar propaganda, which was more or less along these lines: "We do not come to fight you in support of the enemies of Lajang Khan; we are

[1] Desideri, In *MITN*, VI, p. 48.

[2] Giorgi, p. 334. All the names in Tibetan script to be found in Giorgi are not original, but reconstructed from the Italian transcription, often wrongly. They are therefore to be used with the utmost caution.

[3] Haenisch, pp. 219-220 (= *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 277, f. 23b).

simply cooperating with prince Daičing Qośūči (Caγan Danjin) who supported by an army, is bringing the rightful Dalai-Lama from the Kukunor lake to the masterless and defenceless Tibetans. As we have in mind only your welfare, it would be better to become friends and to return each to his own country". Upon a soil so well prepared by the whispering propaganda issuing from the great monasteries of dBus, it is no wonder that this seed took root and prospered. Only P'o-lha-nas, the higher officers of the dBus and gTsaṅ troops, the Mongol Aśita and some soldiers from southern Tibet remained loyal.[1]

On one of the following days Lajang Khan's troops, with P'o-lha-nas and 'Bum-t'aṅ-pa at their head, tried a desperate assault on the enemy camp; they suffered heavy losses, including 'Bum-t'aṅ-pa, but the Dsungars were pressed so far back, that P'o-lhas-nas could send word to the Khan that a charge well pressed home by him personally would achieve the rout of the enemy. Lajang Khan tried to lead forward his household troops, but was held back by his son Surja, T'ar-pa Erke Taiji and his officers. The charge did not materialize, and P'o-lha-nas's men, unsupported, were driven back. From this time onward the break between Tibetans and Qōśots in Lajang Khan's army was complete.[2] P'o-lha-nas however, continued leading his men and exposing himself bravely all the time, till at last he was wounded in the legs; nevertheless he refused to quit the army as advised by his friends.[3]

All these events had taken a considerable time, which was employed by the clergy, preoccupied by the devastations of the war, in an attempt at mediation. By order of the Pan-c'en, who was then in the Qōśot camp, the K'ri Rin-po-c'e, other leading monks and the nobleman sTag-rtse-pa tried to bring about an armistice, to avoid a further shedding of Buddhist blood; but, as was to be expected, the attempt failed.[4]

Weak and divided as it was, Lajang Khan's ramshackle army had succeeded in holding back the Dsungars for more than two months. But the resistance in 'Dam could not be protracted. The Dsungars bore down from the hills "like a cauldron rolling down a slope" and forced the troops of Lajang Khan back step by step

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 121a-122a.
[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 122a-124a.
[3] *MBTJ*, f. 124b.
[4] *A2PC*, f. 279a-b.

towards Lhasa. It was clear that nothing more could be done in the plains of 'Dam, and the officers of the Khan advised him to throw himself into the capital, to hold the fortresses of dBus-gTsaṅ, and to wait for the hoped-for succour from China and the Kukunor princes. P'o-lha-nas opposed the proposal on the ground that to pen up the army in Lhasa would mean to ruin it materially and morally and to make it unfit for field service. He suggested that prince Surja should hold Lhasa with a strong garrison, and that the Khan himself should keep the field with the main forces, harassing the enemy. The plan was sound; but once again the advice of the officers prevailed, and in the first half of November Lajang Khan with the whole army retreated into Lhasa, where the Paṇ-c'en had preceded him by a few days.[1] According to Desideri the retreat was due to the impossibility of holding the field in winter, because 'Dam, "open to the north, was swept by icy and violent winds in winter". It may be that climatic reasons contributed to the retreat, but the fact was that the military position in 'Dam was no longer tenable.

Shortly before, Lhasa had been fortified by Lajang Khan with stout walls and a deep moat.[2] These fortifications were in the pink of conditions and were still being strengthened. There was a large garrison, reinforced by troops summoned from the outlying districts of Tibet, and now by the whole Qōšot army. The Paṇ-c'en was in Lhasa, and his presence gave moral support to the troops. Last but not least, Lajang Khan had by now realized the seriousness of the situation and had at last grudgingly consented to request Chinese intervention.[3] It seemed thus that he could wait with composure of mind for the arrival of the Chinese army. But while all material factors were in his favour, they were set at nought by the moral cancer which ate up his army and his administration.

The army had been reorganized and their regular commanders were subordinated to trusted and specially appointed officers of the Khan. Thus the sons of O-roṅ-pa and 'Bum-t'aṅ-pa, who led the dBus and Koṅ-po troops, received as inspector the Mongol dPa'-

[1] *MBTJ*, f. 126a-b. The Paṇ-c'en arrived in Lhasa on 8/X November 9th; *A2PC*, 280a.

[2] *MBTJ*, f. 127a. Desideri, in *MITN*, VI, pp. 48 n. 49.

[3] Haenisch, p. 220 (= *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 277, f. 23b).

rtul-can Durai Taiji.[1] bSam-grub-gliṅ-pa [2] and bKra-śis-rtse-pa,[3] commanders of the gTsaṅ troops, were placed under the order of P'o-lha-nas; this division was encamped in the southern section of Lhasa, in the gardens on the banks of the sKyid-c'u (Kichu).[4] But the troops were utterly demoralized and their loyalty more than suspect. P'o-lha-nas suggested therefore that Lajang Khan and his army should leave Lhasa and reach the Kukunor region by a detour through K'ams; thence they could march back to Lhasa with Chinese help. But to this Lajang Khan's pride rebelled. Old and slothful he might be, but he was no coward. In a spirited speech, a fine piece of eloquence, he turned down P'o-lha-nas's suggestion. He remembered his ancestors and their proud deeds; their descendant could not flee away like this. Better to die, dragging to death with him some of the enemies. His forefather Guśri Khan had defeated such foes as Čoγtu Khan,[5] Be-re Khan,[6] Buśuqtu Khan,[7] king gTsaṅ-pa,[8] the regent Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o; if the ancestral blood was still running in his veins, he would yet defeat his enemies.[9]

After Lajang Khan's retreat, Cering Donduk had stopped where he was for about ten days, waiting for the arrival of the division which had the task of rescuing the Dalai-Lama and bringing him to Nag-c'u-k'a. But soon he was bitterly disappointed. That division had been defeated and destroyed by the Chinese; and the Dalai-Lama was still held confined in sKu-'bum.[10] It was a terrible

[1] This is apparently identical with the Da-la Taiji of the *K. Ann.*, p. 439; (transl. p. 46); he was a son of dPa'-bo Tügüs Jaisang, who had led the centre division of the Qošot army in 1705 and who is still mentioned in 1707 and 1713; *A2PC*, 241b, 261a.

[2] bSam-grub-gliṅ-pa is mentioned for the first time in c. 1706 as a commander of the Ñaṅ troops, and appears in the same quality at the time of P'o-lha-nas's wedding; *MBTJ*, ff. 57b and 71b.

[3] On bKra-śis-rtse-pa see later, p. 55.

[4] *MBTJ*, f. 127a.

[5] A Chahar prince, defeated by Guśri Khan in 1637.

[6] Ruler of K'ams, defeated and executed by Guśri Khan in 1641.

[7] I cannot identify this adversary of Guśri Khan.

[8] Karma-bstan-skyoṅ, ruler of gTsaṅ, defeated by Guśri Khan in 1642.

[9] *MBTJ*, ff. 127b-128b.

[10] Mongol document translated by W. Heissig in *ZDMG* 1954, p. 408; Desideri, in *MITN*, VI, pp. 49-50; Giorgi, p. 334. It is odd that the expedition against sKu-'bum should be ignored by the Chinese, Manchu and Tibetan texts. Probably its significance was unnoticed by the Chinese, who classed it as one of the usual frontier raids.

blow to the whole enterprise; it cut at its very root. The Dsungars had started for Tibet with the avowed intention of dominating the country and the other Lamaist lands through the Dalai-Lama. That hope was now shattered, and they could no longer count upon the support of the Yellow Church, which had been so effective till now. If the Dalai-Lama was with the Chinese, the Dsungars had to take into account, sooner or later, the actual hostility of the lamas, who would be very happy to have a pretext for returning to their traditional pro-Chinese tendencies. It would become very difficult, as later events proved, to hold Tibet against the Tibetans and the superior Chinese forces. But what was he to do? Retreat under these circumstances would have been disastrous. He tried the bolder way, to take Lhasa by storm and to keep Tibet in subjection by sheer terror, a program which was carried out to the letter, as we shall see. Of course, the support of the lamas had to be exploited as long as possible. To this end, Cering Donduk gave out that the sKu-'bum division had been victorious and was joining him soon, carrying with them the rightful Dalai-Lama. Having thus encouraged his soldiers and secured the further support of the Church, Cering Donduk marched on Lhasa.

At daybreak of the 21st November,[1] the Dsungars drew near Lhasa, halted just out of gun range, and separated into four divisions, which encamped on the four sides of the town, establishing thus its blockade. Cering Donduk himself remained to the northern side of Lhasa near Se-ra monastery. The Dsungars were enthusiastically greeted by the monks of the three great monasteries, who brought them food, arms and ammunition; a number of the younger monks equipped as soldiers joined the army, thus considerably increasing its numbers.[2] The blockade of Lhasa was organized as follows: to the eastern side, the Dsungars encamped on the banks of the sKyid-c'u; to the northern side, on the desert plains of Groṅ-smad, Grva-bži[3] etc.; to the western side, on the slopes of sKye-ts'al Klu-sdiṅs; to the southern side, the Dsungars lost some time on their march round the city and did not complete

[1] Desideri's date. The *A2PC* has 17/X, corresponding to c. November 19th.

[2] Desideri, in *MITN*, VI, pp. 50 n. 51. Tibetan version of this in *A2PC* f. 280a.

[3] Dabchi in Waddell's sketch of the environs of Lhasa; it is the emplacement of the parade grounds to the north of the town. The other names are difficult to identify.

the ring for a few days. Giorgi (p. 335) tells us that on the 25th, upon a signal given by traitors inside the town, an attack was launched against the eastern sector; it was repulsed by P'o-lha-nas. This attack is mentioned in no other source, and is probably a duplicate of the events of the 30th, due to a misunderstanding by Giorgi or his informants.

In a few days the Dsungars completed their military preparations outsice the city, and agreed on a definite plan of action with their friends inside. When all was ready, after midnight on the 30th of November 1717 [1] the Dsungars attacked Lhasa on all sides. In the southern sector, P'o-lha-nas was no longer sure of his men. Shortly before the attack, he had discovered treasonable correspondence with the enemy. Letters were passing to and fro between the Dsungars and his close friend bKra-śis-rtse-pa. He had hushed up the affair by putting to death the man who carried the letters; he wished neither to denounce his friend, nor to betray Lajang Khan, to whom he owed so much. In these conditions he left most of his men behind and sallied forth against the Dsungars only with some trusted men of his personal retinue. By his surprise counter-attack, he succeeded in throwing the enemy into confusion and driving them back as far as sKu-'bum-t'aṅ (?). In the nothern sector the Dsungars from the Grva-bži plain attacked the Pa-tag-śa-duṅ gate. They were helped from the inside by some partisans of theirs, headed by the Mongol minister (*γabulun*, Tib. *bka'-blon*) Śaγdurǰab (P'yag-rdor-skyabs) and by the Tibetan Taiǰi rNam-rgyal. For a short while neither these nor the Dsungars outside could make any impression on the gate, which, if weakly defended, was very strongly barricaded and difficult to smash in. In many other places in the town, several officers and dignitaries of Lajang Khan had been in correspondence with the enemy, and has sent them word of everything that happened in the city; now, as soon as the Dsungar attack began, they fired a few shots and then abandoned their posts, thus increasing the confusion which was already spreading in the city. A Dsungar lama revolted, occupied some districts of the city and went over to the Dsungars. Everywhere, ladders were being let down from the battlements, to enable the Dsungars to scale the walls. The western gate was thrown open by the commandant of the

[1] Desideri's date. The *A2PC* has 29/X, corresponding to December 1st. So also the *Dad pa'i 'dab brgya*, f. 36b.

gate-guard. No wonder that the defence collapsed very soon; we may even say that there was no defence at all, except in the southern sector.[1]

The fight, or rather the massacre, raged during the whole night. Lajang Khan, in spite of his brave words, had lost his head and instead of placing himself at the head of his troops, had taken refuge in the Potala. P'o-lha-nas had come into the town to report to Lajang Khan the successful repulse of the attack in his sector. When the Dsungars broke into the city, he was in the P'un-ts'ogs-rab-brtan-dpal-'byor, or Paljor-rabtan palace.[2] At once panic broke out around him. The defenceless people ran hither and thither like frightened cattle. The palace was crowded with clerks and officials of Lajang Khan, a panic-striken rabble. Some Mongol girls filled the air with their shrieks and wails. Amidst this terrible scene of confusion, P'o-lha-nas left the palace with a small retinue, to try to find his way to Lajang Khan. On his way, in the ward called rGya-'bum-sgaṅ [3] he had an encounter with about 15 Dsungar horsemen, whom he put to flight. But as he saw that it was impossible to get through, he went back to the gardens in the south of the city, from where, in the meantime, his troops had vanished dispersing themselves. Serious fighting, if there had been any, was soon over. At dawn the Dsungars were masters of the city, and Cering Donduk was conducted in triumph to the K'rom-gzigs-k'an place. As soon as he was installed there, he gave permission to his troops to sack the town. Savage scenes ensued; the monks who had joined the invaders became the most greedy and cruel robbers. The houses were looted, including those belonging to men who had actively helped the entry of the Dsungars into the town; even the temples and monasteries of the sacred city were not spared. People were mercilessly tortured in order to compel them to disgorge their wealth. Even the Capuchin friars suffered from the sack. They were stripped of everything, even of the robes and the drawers which

[1] The Prefect of the Capuchin Mission, who was an eye-witness, rightly sums up the events in the following words: The Dsungars took Lhasa by dint of intelligence inside the town, but with little force outside. Above quoted letter of Fr. Domenico da Fano, dated Lhasa, May 29th, 1718, in *MITN*, I, p. 109.

[2] On this palace see S. Ch. Das, *Journey*, pp. 198-199. It is the "lodging house for Tashilhunpo people" (n. 10) in the plan of Lhasa in Waddell.

[3] L. A. Waddell, *Lhasa and its mysteries*, London 1905, plan of Lhasa facing p. 331, n. 32.

they wore on their bodies; they were flogged with horsewhips till blood ran from their backs, in order to make them reveal where they had concealed their money.[1] Desideri escaped this fate, because at that time he resided in Se-ra; but he lost all his belongings which he had left in the city. The sack, which its trail of dreadful suffering, lasted for three days.[2]

P'o-lha-nas was still bent on rejoining Lajang Khan. He threw away his arms and rich clothes, donned the dress of a man of the people, and set out on foot. On his way he saw a detachment of Tibetan troops of the feudatory chiefs of 'Od-gsal-lha-rigs in Klu-sbugs and of the Bya-pa myriarch,[3] numbering about 500, abjectly terrorized and cringing, being led away be a few lance-brandishing Dsungars. His blood boiled over at the shameful spectacle, and he snatched at a lance in order to attack the Dsungars. He was held back in the nick of time by two old friends, Bon-rigs Ṅag-dbaṅ-bde-c'en and bKra-śis-rtse-pa (already mentioned). They entreated him to take care of himself; he had done enough for Lajang Khan, and it was useless getting himself killed for nothing. Owing to the awful turmoil in the streets of the looted city, it was clearly impossible to reach the Potala, and P'o-lha-nas gave way to his friends and went back with them to the inner city. Shortly afterwards he left it, and repaired to 'Bras-spuṅs monastery. But he was still loth to given up every hope. He bought a good horse and two mules, as the first step to a project of his. He hoped that Lajang Khan would be able to hold out for a while in the Potala; in the meantime, he would hasten away to meet the army of the Mongol chief Dayan Qungtaiǰi [4] which was rumoured to be on the march

[1] Above quoted letter of Fr. Domenico da Fano, dated Lhasa, May 29th, 1718.

[2] The above account of the blockade, storm and sack of Lhasa is based on *MBTJ*, ff. 128b-130b; *A2PC*, f. 280b; Haenisch, p. 225 (= *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 277, f. 23b); *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, ff. 15b-16a; the *Bolur toli* quoted by W. Heissig, in *ZDMG* 1954, p. 398; Desideri, in *MITN*, VI, pp. 50-52. Cf. also A. Giorgi, *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, pp. 335-336.

[3] On the Bya-pa myriarchy, which was to the south-west of Yar-kluṅs, see Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, pp. 613-614.

[4] Dayan Qungtaiǰi was a Qōśot chief of Kukunor. In 1697 he had traveled to Peking; *K. Ann.*, p. 438 (transl. p. 43). In 1713 he took part along with the imperial troops in a campaign against the Dsungars; *K. Ann.*, p. 439 (transl. p. 45). In 1716 he came again to court and was appointed *beile* and paramount chief on the Kukunor Qośots; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 10, f. 34b.

from the Kukunor towards Lhasa; he would act as a guide to them. But events moved too quickly, and soon he heard of Lajang Khan's sad end, which showed a glamour that all his life had lacked.[1]

Lajang Khan, shut in the Potala, recovered his balance of mind and took stock of the situation. The Potala, as rebuilt by the Fith Dalai-Lama, was a strong palace, not a fortress. At the best, it could only resist for some days more. But there was no chance of timely succour from any side whatsoever. Negotiations with the Dsungars had been tried by the only authority in Tibet who could command their respect; on the day after the fall of Lhasa the Paṇ-c'en held a parley with the Dsungars in order to save the life of the Khan. But they requested an unconditional surrender, and he fully knew what this meant; thus this attempt too failed.[2] The inevitable end was bound to be the storming of the Potala and the wholesale massacre of its inmates. The old Khan stoically decided on a course of self-sacrifice. In order to avoid the extermination of all his family and attendants, he decided to sally out of the Potala and to die fighting, keeping the enemies as much and as long occupied as he could. In the meantime his son Surja would lead out the inmates of the Potala and effect their escape northwards. And once he had taken his last decision, he stuck to it; in vain his people tried to detain him. On the I/XI = December 3rd, the Khan came out through the gate of the walled dependency[3] on the eastern side of the Potala, followed only by the Mongol Blo-bzaṅ-c'os-'p'el, and rode away on the road to the Klu-sbugs district. The flight was soon discovered, and the Dsungars hastened in pursuit. The fugitives reached a deep ditch with a double palisade, at which the Khan's horse took fright, and instead of jumping the ditch it fell down with its rider. The Dsungars attacked the small party, which held them at bay with matchlock fire, till the ammunition gave out. Then the Dsungars charged down on them. The two officers continued to defend themselves using their matchlocks

He died in 1718; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 10, f. 38b. Listed by P. Pelliot, *Notes critiques d'histoire kalmouke*, Paris 1960, Tableau généalogique II, n. 213.

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 130b-131a.

[2] *A2PC*, f. 280b.

[3] *Lha-žol*; this terms indicates "a village or collection of abodes below or belonging to a monastery; thus at the base of the Potala in Lhasa is a large group of houses and huts styled the *žol* or *sde-žol* of the Potala". S. Ch. Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 1077a.

as clubs, till at last they were cut down. The Dsungars then crowded on the exhausted Khan, without recognizing him. He defended himself valiantly, wounding and killing several of his attackers; with a last stroke he cut off the right arm of the nearest man, then he fell dead.[1]

The fate of Lajang Khan's family may be briefly told here. Prince Surja was in command of a division of 3000 men, who at once melted away. What followed is narrated in a highly romantic strain by Desideri. Surja, the chief minister Targum Treêscij and general Ton-drup-zze-ring (Don-grub-ts'e-riṅ)[2] had broken through the Dsungar lines, killing many of them and getting safely away. In the middle of the night they reached the home of sTag-rtse-pa, the Tibetan governor of sKyid-śod. In the hope of reward by the enemy (and rewarded indeed he was most handsomely), sTag-rtse-pa by an act of the blackest treachery handed over his guests to the Dsungars. Lajang Khan's wife and youngest son Ts'e-brtan, who was only 3-4 years old, had not been able to leave the Potala and had been taken by the Dsungars. The Paṇ-c'en, who too was in the Potala, was able to save their lives for the moment, by dint of entreaties and reproaches to Cering Donduk, who had once been his pupil at bKra-śis-lhun-po. They were all imprisoned, except general Ton-drup-zze-ring, who was set free because he was a Dsungar by birth. The Dsungars sacked the Potala in the most thorough manner, even desecrating the tomb of the Fifth Dalai-Lama. As they knew that the greatest part of Lajang Khan's treasure had been entrusted to the chief minister Targum Treêscij they put him to the torture, without being able to overcome his stubborn loyalty. Seeing all his efforts to be useless, Cering Donduk sent his prisoners to Dsungaria. On the road, the party was attacked by the faithful Ton-drup-zze-ring; he succeeded in freeing the chief minister, who escaped to mÑa'-ris; but he was killed in a vain attempt to rescue Lajang Khan's family.[3]

[1] This account of Lajang Khan's end is based on *MBTJ*, ff. 131a-132b; *A2PC*, f. 281a; the *Biography of the 48th K'ri Rin-po-c'e*, f. 9b; and Desideri, in *MITN*, VI, pp. 53-56.

[2] According to Desideri, Ton-drup-zze-ring, a man of Dsungar origin, was the peacetime commander-in-chief of Lajang Khan's army; it was he who received the Jesuit missionary on his arrival in March 1716; *MITN*, V, p. 184.

[3] Desideri, in *MITN*, VI, pp. 56-64.

Desideri's tale is a fine school example of loyalty unto death; but most probably it is a fiction. Neither the chief minister Targum Treêscij, nor general Ton-trup-zze-ring, nor his heroic attempt at rescue are known to the Tibetan, Chinese, Manchu or Mongol texts; and, in the case of the chief minister, the narrative runs counter to the ascertained facts, as we shall see later (pp. 62-63).

So much is sure, Lajang Khan's widow, her son Ts'e-brtan and prince Surja were seized treacherously by sTag-rtse-pa, handed over to the Dsungars and sent to Ili, where they arrived in July 1718.[1] Only Surja's wife, wo had fled by another route, succeeded in reaching the Manchu outposts in the Tsaidam region, where she gave to the imperial officers an account of the events in Lhasa.[2]

Surja remained in Ili [3] and died there in 1743.[4] His three sisters (daughters of Lajang Khan by Jerinraśi), were also brought to Ili, and one of them was to be married to Cewang Arabtan's second son Lobjang Śono. But the eldest son Galdan Cering, the future ruler of the Dsungars, helped her to elope and took her as his wife.[5]

Ts'e-brtan, who in 1717 was but a child, lived in Ili till he was liberated by the Chinese in 1755 and settled in Chahar. In 1783 he inherited the title of duke (*fu-kuo kung*) from the line of Surja, which had become extinct. He died in his turn in 1784.[6] The descendants of the last Qōśot Khan of Tibet are living even now in Chahar.

As for the Qōśot ruling class in Tibet, they were always few in number and their power was broken forever in 1717.[7] No Qōśot played a part in Tibetan history after that year.[8]

[1] *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 10, f. 37a-b, and ch. 17, f. 16a; Haenisch, pp. 225-226 (= *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 279, f. 2a-b); E. Kraft, *Zum Dsungarenkrieg im 18. Jahrhundert*, p. 43; W. Heissig, in *ZDMG* 1954, pp. 404-405, 407.

[2] Haenisch, pp. 222-226 (= *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 278, ff. 19b-20b).

[3] In 1731 the Dsungars proposed to restore him as ruler of Tibet; but nothing came of the attempt; see later p. 166.

[4] Funeral rites were held at Lhasa in that year; *L7DL*, f. 303b.

[5] E. Kraft, op. cit., p. 85.

[6] *Hsi-yü t'ung-wên-chih*, ch. 24, ff. 2b-3a; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, *piao* 4, f. 3b. Cf. *Fan-pu-yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, f. 26b, and *Loń ba'i dmigs bu*, p. 178.

[7] At the end of 1718 the Dsungar commanders in Tibet received from their ruler the order to arrest and deport to Dsungaria all the former officials of Lajang Khan; no difference was made between Qōśots and Tibetans. However, the Paṇ-c'en succeeded, by dint of serious representations, in obtaining the countermanding of the order. *A2PC*, ff. 287a-b and 289b-290a.

[8] For more particulars about Lajang Khan's family and the Qōśot ministers and generals see L. Petech, Notes on Tibetan history etc., pp. 278-279.

CHAPTER FOUR

DSUNGAR OCCUPATION AND TIBETAN RISINGS

The conquest of Tibet had been mainly due to the masterly diplomacy and military organization of king Cewang Arabtan. Cering Donduk had not shown, nor was to show in future, any outstanding qualities as a general, as far as we can judge, but he had faithfully and successly carried out the difficult task allotted to him. The failure of the unnamed commander of the expedition to sKu-'bum, though of no consequence from the military point of view, had jeopardised the ultimate success of the enterprise; but he was in no way responsible for this. Now, after the fall of Lhasa and the death of Lajang Khan, he found himself confronted with the task of organizing his conquest. The situation was by no means rosy. His army was small and tired, and its original Dsungar kernel [1] had undoubtedly been diminished by the terrible march and the hard fighting. His Tibetan levies were not to be depended upon. He was in deep disagreement with his chief lieutenant Sanji, a disagreement which was known even to the Chinese and lasted till Sanji's return to Dsungaria in the 3rd month of 1719.[2]

Thus far, the Dsungars held only Lhasa and parts of Central Tibet. The situation in the rest of the country can be summarized thus: Western Tibet was for the moment politically a no man's land, soon be to galvanized into active resistance by K'aṅ-c'en-nas and P'o-lha-nas; K'ams was practically independent of Lhasa under its great lamas, and Chinese political influence there was growing stronger and stronger; Amdo and Kukunor were under the sway of Mongol chieftains under Chinese suzerainty. Lajang Khan's government had collapsed, his ministers were dead or in flight. It would have been feasible to choose the new administration from among the lamas only if the Dalai-Lama had been under Dsungar influence. But the clergy had at once found out that the Dalai-Lama was not in the train of the invaders; and what was going to be their reaction to this

[1] The Dsungars seem to have formed only a smaller contingent (about one third) of Cering Donduk's army. Cfr. Haenisch, pp. 215 (= *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 274, f. 20b) and 387 (= Op. cit., ch. 284, f. 21b).

[2] Haenisch, p. 392 (= *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 284, f. 22b).

discovery, was at once shown by the highest of them, the Paṇ-c'en. Almost at once, on 3/XII = January 4th, 1718, he had left for bKra-śis-lhun-po, where he arrived 17 days later.[1] The Dsungars, fervent Lamaists and self-styled defenders of the Yellow Church, could certainly not detain him by force: but the fact showed that the Paṇ-c'en was clearly dissociating himself from the new regime.

Cering Donduk found thus himself in a political vacuum. There was absolutely no political party in the country, on which he could rely. Even the aristocrats, anti-clerical and anti-Chinese as they were, had been shocked and outraged by the sack of Lhasa, the indiscriminate slaughter of the people and the barbarous treatment of Lajang Khan's family. Cering Donduk's only way of governing the country was military occupation, leaning only on superior force and imposed by terror on the people.

At the centre he formed a puppet Tibetan government, headed by Lha-rgyal-rab-brtan of sTag-rtse in Bye-ri,[2] called also the Taiǰi of dGa'-ldan in sKyid-śod,[3] the betrayer of the Qōśot royal family.

He is first mentioned with the title of *taiǰi* in 1678,[4] but his father *žabs-druṅ* rDo-rje-rnam-rgyal was still alive in 1683.[5] The son must have succeeded to the estate before 1697, in which year he first appears with the title of sTag-rtse-nas.[6] Soon after he was appointed a high official; he was certainly one at the time of Lajang Khan's coup in 1705/6; however, the title of minister (*bka'-blon*) is never used with him, the usual style being simply sTag-rtse *žabs-druṅ*.[7] In any case, he was a man of age, authority and considerable administrative experience. He had played an important part in the abortive negotiations which took place in 'Dam on the initiative of the Paṇ-c'en, and perhaps it was on this occasion that he entered a secret compact with the Dsungars. The author of the *MBTJ*, who of course belonged to the opposite party, gives a repellent portrait

[1] *A2PC*, ff. 281b and 283b.

[2] Taktse-dsong on the right bank of the sKyid-c'u to the east of Lhasa.

[3] *Loṅ ba'i dmigs bu*, p. 179. *MBTJ*, f. 133a. He is the same as the Ta-ko-tsan of the *Wei-tsang-t'u-chih*, in *JRAS* 1891, p. 74.

[4] *Life of the Fifth Dalai-Lama*, Ga, f. 92a.

[5] *A2PC*, f. 82a. He had been an official of Guśri Khan and had executed some works at bSam-yas. [Guide of] *The Samye monastery* (ed. Lokesh Chandra), New Delhi 1961, p. 63.

[6] *A2PC*, f. 176b.

[7] *Life of the Sixth Dalai-Lama*, f. 338b; *A2PC*, ff. 234a and 236b. He too effected some repairs at bSam-yas; *The bSam-yas monastery*, p. 64.

of him; he was heavy, with a skull-like white face, with hanging jowls, toothless, with a staggering gait and an unclear and stammering speech. He received now the title of *sa-skyoṅ* (Protector of the Realm), but seems to have enjoyed little effective power.[1] Every measure taken by the Dsungars was endorsed by him, even those which hurt the religious feeling of his countrymen.

Lajang Khan's puppet Dalai-Lama Ṅag-dbaṅ-ye-śes-rgya-mts'o was of course deposed, but allowed, as an act of grace and on the intercession of the Paṇ-c'en, to return to the lCags-po-ri as a simple monk; he remained confined in that college. The Dalai-Lama of sKu-'bum, though an absentee in the hands of the Chinese, was proclaimed as the lawful head of the Tibetan Church.

After this reorganization of the administration, Cering Donduk undertook the effective occupation of the country. He sent out summons to all provinces requesting the whole realm to pay homage to him.[2] dBus seems to have been soon cowed into submission by systematic raids of Dsungar troops starting from Lhasa. The general policy that lay at the background of these raids was inspired by the sGo-maṅs Bla-ma Blo-bzaṅ-p'un-ts'ogs;[3] it was a clear-cut programme of persecution of the rÑiṅ-ma-pa school of Lamaism. Religious persecution was till then little known in Tibet; the struggle between Reds and Yellows had been of a purely political nature.[4] Now these strangers from the north-west, more Lamaist than the lamas, imported into Tibet a full-dress religious intolerance and persecution. All the images, statues and books of Padmasambhava were burnt.[5] The monasteries of rNam-rgyal-gliṅ and bSam-ldiṅ were stormed, sMin-grol-gliṅ was attacked, all of them rÑiṅ-ma-pa centres.[6] The main centre of that sect, rDo-rje-brag, suffered

[1] The *Ragguaglio* of Fr. Gioacchino da Santa Anatolia (1746) says that "although the Dsungars had appointed a Tibetan as king, it was they who governed the country, much more than the king appointed by them". *MITN*, III, p. 214.

[2] Already quoted letter of Fr. Domenico da Fano, dated Lhasa, May 29th, 1718, in *MITN*, I, p. 109.

[3] *K. Ann.*, p. 440 (transl. p. 46). He was a Dsungar by birth; *MBTJ*, f. 131a.

[4] But see some examples to the contrary cited by W. Heissig in *ZDMG* 1951, p. 440.

[5] *Desideri*, in *MITN*, VI, pp. 159-162.

[6] *Re'u-mig* (ed. Lokesh Chandra), p. 76; *K. Ann.*, p. 440 (transl. p. 46); *Bolur toli* quoted by W. Heissig in *ZDMG* 1954, p. 398; Mongol document cited ibid., pp. 409, 410; S. Ch. Das, *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, pp. 186 and 306.

the same fate; and its incarnate, the Bla-c'en, was killed.[1] The rNam-rgyal school (*grva-ts'aṅ*) of bSam-gtaṅ-gliṅ in 'Ol-k'a was exiled to rTses-t'aṅ and then dispersed.[2] The abbot of Guṅ-t'aṅ was driven from his see.[3] Even the Bon-po sanctuary of Ri-rgyal gŚen-dar was pillaged.[4] Of course the countryside too suffered heavily of these raids, as the Dsungars scoured it for food and fuel and behaved like a raiding horde, not like occupation troops. One lasting consequence of their activity was the complete denudation of the Lhasa district; all the trees in it were cut for fuel by the Dsungars, and the Chinese, who came after them, completed their work by digging up even the roots.[5]

But if by these means the Dsungars intended to gain the support of the Yellow Church, they were soon disappointed. As soon as the lamas found out that the Dalai-Lama was still at Hsining, the Dsungars had played out with them. The brutal looting of the rÑiṅ-ma-pa monasteries merely fanned their rising hostility against the conqueror. They had also to suffer from the puritan airs which the Dsungars gave themselves. The Mongols undertook even to reestablish discipline in the dGe-lug-pa monasteries, by driving out of them the laymen and those among the lamas, whose virtue and learning were not above doubt.[6] This tactless interference soon bore its fruits.[7]

The regime of terror set up by the Dsungars in Lhasa grew worse and worse with the passing of time. On this we have the unimpeachable witness of the Capuchins: the Dsungars "during the whole of 1718 did nothing but practise unheard- of atrocities on the people of the kingdom". The missionaries had stuck to their post in Lhasa

[1] *K. Ann.*, p. 441 (transl. p. 46); W. Heissig in *ZDMG* 1954, p. 405.

[2] *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, parts I-II, p. 315.

[3] Biography of the 50th K'ri Rin-po-c'e (vol. *Na* of the collection), f. 5b.

[4] S. Ch. Das, *Journey*, p. 272.

[5] *Ragguaglio* of Fr. Gioacchino da S. Anatolia, in *MITN*, III, pp. 232-233.

[6] Letter of Fr. Domenico da Fano, Lhasa, May 29th, 1718, in *MITN*, I, p. 110. *K. Ann.*, p. 440 (transl. p. 46). Mongol document translated by W. Heissig, in *ZDMG* 1954, pp. 405 and 410.

[7] According to Desideri, the Dsungars carried about even a raid against Shigatse, which was defended by the Paṇ-c'en. The small garrison inflicted such losses on the assailants, as to compel them to raise the siege and to withdraw; *MITN*, VI, p. 22. But the *A2PC* not only is silent about this attack, but shows us Cering Sanduk in continuous and fairly good relations with the Paṇ-c'en. In this case too I think that Desideri's tale is not based upon facts.

in spite of the loss of all their scanty property; step by step they had gained some measure of tolerance from the Dsungar authorities by their skill in the practice of medicine. But it was that very skill that exposed them to the danger of being seized and deported to Ili. To avoid this, they left Lhasa and hid themselves in a place called Thuée (?), two days of march away from the capital, where they remained six months. Then the acute discomfort compelled them to return to Lhasa, where they went into hiding. All their hopes were pinned on the Chinese troops, whom everybody knew to be on the move towards Tibet.[1]

At first opposition against the Dsungars remained more or less fluid and intangible, a state of mind more than a definite movement. For the moment, many old Tibetan officers of Lajang Khan rallied to sTag-rtse-pa's puppet government. Foremost among them was bKra-śis-rtse-pa. He was originally an official of the Paṇ-c'en, in which quality he appears for the first time in 1693.[2] In 1706 he was in command of the troops of the Ñaṅ district in gTsaṅ.[3] At the storming of Lhasa in November 1717 he played a highly suspect game. And indeed he rallied the Dsungars at once and was sent by sTag-rtse-pa to occupy the castle of Rin-c'en-rtse, which had been confiscated from P'o-lha-nas (see below). He was appointed a minister (*bka'-blon*) in the puppet government, and with this title he appears frequently in the memoirs of the Paṇ-c'en, for the first time at the end of 1718.[4] This appointment cost him eventually his life, when the Chinese after their arrival in 1720 tried and sentenced the members of the puppet government.

Another instance of ralliement to the conqueror, although at a lower level and without much conviction is the career of P'o-lha-nas under the Dsungar occupation. We have left him at 'Bras-spuṅs, where the news of Lajang Khan's death had for the moment put an end to his activities. sTag-rtse-pa at first thought of employing him in his service. The new regent was issuing general summons to the abbots and incarnations of the dBus monasteries to come to Lhasa; thus the former minister of Lajang Khan, the Bakṣi[5] was sent

[1] Letters of Fr. Domenico da Fano dated Thueé, January 25th and February 2nd, 1719; in *MITN*, I, pp. 112-115.

[2] *A2PC*, f. 135b.

[3] *MBTJ*, f. 57b.

[4] *A2PC*, f. 287a.

[5] His name is unknown. Bakṣi was the title of the paymaster of the army,

with some Mongols to fetch the incarnate of sMin-sgrol-glin; P'o-lha-nas and a Mongol called T'os-pa-dga' were entrusted with the task of summoning the incarnate (rDo-rje-'dsin-pa-c'en-po) of rDo-rje-brag. But P'o-lha-nas guessed rightly that this summons had the purpose of laying hold of and imprisoning that great churchman. He sent some men to bribe T'os-pa-dga' with clothes, silver, horses and mules. The Mongol accepted the bribe and the incarnate of rDo-rje-brag, who was already on his way, was allowed to return to his monastery. When P'o-lha-nas returned to Lhasa, he was severely taken to task by Cering Donduk for the failure of his mission. P'o-lha-nas replied that the incarnate was an old man, near to death, unfit for travelling. The excuse was too flimsy, and Cering Donduk blamed and upbraided P'o-lha-nas violently; [1] for the moment the matter was allowed to drop but later (as we have seen) the incarnate was seized and killed.

Shortly afterwards P'o-lha-nas was informed by the sGo-mans Bla-ma that all the old retainers of Lajang Khan were going to be arrested. The lama took him to 'Bras-spuns and offered him asylum, if he would renounce the world and take the vows. But P'o-lha-nas refused, and when a Dsungar messenger came to fetch him to Lhasa, he fatalistically complied and followed him. On the edge of the "dust-dam" near Lhasa he was arrested by a score of Dsungars, undressed, bound and marched along; although his wounded leg made it difficult for him to walk, his march was hastened with the whip. They reached thus the Paljor-rabtan palace. P'o-lha-nas was handed over to a Dsungar officer, dressed in lousy old rags and then led into a tent. There he was questioned by the Dsungars and requested to give a full statement of all his estates and movable property. To this he replied that all his movable property was stored in Lhasa and had been looted by the Dsungars, so that he was practically destitute. As to his estates in gTsan he was unable to say anything about them, because, being on attendance to Lajang Khan since his boyhood, he had never returned home and could not remember conditions there. The Dsungars insisted with promises and threats, but in vain. P'o-lha-nas was then led to the banks of the sKyid-c'u and threatened with drown-

---

at least in Muslim India. In 1706 he had been the main agent in the deposition of the 6th Dalai-Lama. Biography of the 48th K'ri Rin-po-c'e, ff. 6a, 8b. He is fairly often mentioned during the war; *MBJT*, ff. 95b, 117a, 122b.

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 133a-134a.

ing, the usual mode of execution in Lhasa; lastly, he was flogged with fifteen lashes. But it was of no avail, so that the Dsungars gave up trying to extort money form him. The next morning he was committed to jail with many others, Tibetan and Mongols, among whom was the sMin-sgrol-gliṅ incarnate, who in the meantime had been brought to Lhasa. mÑa'-bdag Brag-pa, alias Myaṅ-ston Rig-'dsin-rgya-mts'o [1], tried to intercede for the prisoners, and was thrown in jail for his pains. As usual in Tibetan prisons, P'o-lha-nas would have died of hunger and maltreatment there, if some friends of his, viz. gYag-sde Ram-pa-ba, Bon-rigs Ñag-dbaṅ-bde-c'en, lCog-spe-ba, Nor-'dsin-dbaṅ-po of gŽis-groṅ, and sKyid-sbug-pa of 'Dus-byuṅ, had not cared for the welfare of their imprisoned leader. sTag-rtse-pa himself sent him some clothing. Shortly afterwards sTag-rtse-pa went to the Dsungar leaders, pointed out the unpopularity to which he was exposed because of this high-handedness towards a respected nobleman, and by threatening his resignation obtained the release of P'o-lha-nas.[2]

P'o-lha-nas's release was greeted with great rejoicing by the populace and specially by the lamas of the three great monasteries. sTag-rtse-pa offered him the post of minister (*bka'i-mdun-na-'don*), but P'o-lha-nas would not accept. He recovered his money, which had lain buried in various secreted spots in Lhasa, and princely rewarded sTag-rtse-pa for his intervention. His family estates and serfs in gTsaṅ were formally granted back to him, but not so those which had been given to him by Lajang Khan, nor the castle of Rin-c'en-rtse, which sTag-rtse-pa reserved for himself, and which had been occupied on his behalf by bKra-śis-rtse-pa.[3] In order not to lose it, P'o-lha-nas employed a small trick, very common in Tibet. He put himself in touch with the treasurer (*gnas-mdsod-'c'aṅ-ba*) of bKra-śis-lhun-po, and made over the castle as a gift to the monastery (which of course was later to give it back to him for a nominal rent). The question became now an issue between the Paṇ-c'en's administration and sTag-rtse-pa, and P'o-lha-nas dropped out of it.[4] I may mention that the ownership of Rin-c'en-

[1] Evidently a descendant or incarnation of mÑa'-bdag Ñaṅ Rin-po-c'e, one of the two foremost *gter-ston* of the rÑiṅ-ma-pa. Ferrari, pp. 45, 54, 57 and n. 137. Wylie, p. 71 and n. 227.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 134a-140b.

[3] *MBTJ*, ff. 141b-142a.

[4] *MBTJ*, f. 142b.

rtse was recognized to the Paṇ-c'en in 1719,[1] although it is doubtful that actual possession could be gained until after the expulsion of the Dsungars.

After having thus settled all pending questions, and after having given many presents to several faithful old warriors of Lajang Khan, P'o-lha-nas left for Ñaṅ, his homeland. At P'o-lha, where he was much fêted by his family, he found the financial situation of his estates so flourishing, that it compensated all his losses at the hands of the Dsungars. He took advantage of this by lavishly performing several religious rites, thus conciliating to himself the local clergy.[2] Twelve months passed in this manner i.e. the whole of 1718). For the moment, P'o-lha-nas could do nothing but wait; the Dsungars were too strong, and he was only just tolerated by them. The little he could do, was to help secretly his old comrades persecuted by the Dsungars. It happened thus that some old Mongol officers of Lajang Khan were arrested by the Dsungars and sent away to Ili. In Nag-ts'aṅ they freed themselves, took the way back and arrived at P'o-lha-nas's castle, where they were gladly received as guests. Soon a dozen of Dsungars, who had come to bKra-śis-lhun-po, got wind of the presence of the refugees at P'o-lha and came thither. The refugees escaped by a secret door to the mountains; the Dsungars searched the castle, found nothing and went away.[3]

It seems that during this period there were some attempts at conciliation, in which P'o-lha-nas had a hand. At least we may guess something of the sort from the very careful and guarded account of the *MBTJ*. The facts are these: the Dsungar prince Bhu-ti-mur[4] then dwelling in 'Bras-spuṅs, requested a secret interview with P'o-lha-nas. He accepted and travelled secretly to 'Bras-spuṅs, riding three days and three nights—a rather incredible feat of horsemanship. All we are told of the interview, is in the nature of religious discussions only.[5] Soon afterwards P'o-lha-nas went to bKra-śis-lhun-po and met the Paṇ-c'en; here too we are not told of the matter discussed. Apparently nothing came of the negotiations, if there had been any. P'o-lha-nas took the occasion of his stay in

[1] *A2PC*, ff. 290b-291a.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 145a-146a.

[3] *MBTJ*, ff. 146b-147b.

[4] Apparently the Bodimur listed by Pelliot, *Notes d'histoire kalmouke*, Tableau généalogique I, n. 293.

[5] *MBTJ*, ff. 148b-151a.

bKra-śis-lhun-po to increase his popularity by gifts in cash and estates to the church and by feasts and games to the nobility of the neighbourhood.[1]

On 23/VI = July 20th, 1718, Cering Donduk himself visited bKra-śis-lhun-po with a suite of 200 men, and met the Paṇ-c'en. We do not know whether P'o-lha-nas was still there and could meet him.[2] Things thus dragged on till the news spread that a Chinese army had arrived on the banks of the Nag-c'u (it was the ill-fated expedition of Erentei in 1718). P'o-lha-nas's first impulse was to go and join it, but luckily for him he was dissuaded by his wife. Still undecided, he went to bKra-śis-lhun-po to take advice from the ministers of the Paṇ-c'en. At that very time four Dsungars officers arrived there bringing him a rescript (*bilik*) from the Dsungar king. As this could be a signal of danger, P'o-lha-nas first sent word to his family to hide in some safe spot in the mountains; then he met the envoys in the P'un-ts-'ogs-k'aṅ-gsar palace at bKra-śis-lhun-po. But the rescript contained only empty complimentary formulae: "Oh, P'o-lha Taiji! I recognize that what you said when you were detained in prison, was sincere and without guilt. Even afterwards you did not place your reliance elsewhere than in the teaching of the Yellows alone. If there is any other tale of virtues fit to be told, without deceit say it!" P'o-lha-nas was much reassured by this document, and sent messengers to P'o-lha to stop the departure of his uncle and his wife.[3]

This apparent easing of the situation was only a deception. Several old retainers of Lajang Khan were at this time attacked and put to death by the Dsungars, and a friend of P'o-lha-nas sent him a warning, that his ruin too was intended. P'o-lha-nas heeded the warning, and with some twenty men took refuge in a ravine near P'o-lha. Soon afterwards the Dsungars went to gÑa'-naṅ, where he owned some estates, and ravaged several places. P'o-lha-nas thought of going to Lhasa to get an explanation of these hostilities, which were shown to him just after he had received a courteous writing from the king. On his way to the capital, near Luṅ-dmar [4] he met sTag-rtse-pa and a Dsungar commander with a small troop

[1] *MBTJ*, f. 152a-b.

[2] *A2PC*, f. 285a.

[3] *MBTJ*, ff. 153b-156a.

[4] Lungma of the maps, not far from the Rva-luṅ monastery, to the east of Gyantse; G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, I, Rome 1941, p. 58.

on their way to bKra-śis-lhun-po. The Dsungar gave him the news of the defeat and destruction of the Chinese force under Erentei on the Qara-usu (Nag-c'u). P'o-lha-nas was deeply disappointed; but nothing could be done for the moment, and he saw that sTag-rtse-pa was even being greeted with outward rejoicing by the people of gTsaṅ.[1] This time he could hardly avoid accepting office under the puppet government, and thus he attached himself to the train of the regent. The latter went to bKra-śis-lhun-po, where he was received with honour and communicated to the Paṇ-c'en an invitation by the Dsungar ruler to come to Ili; of course it was politely refused (January-February 1719).[2]

But in spite of this apparent cordiality, the executions of the former officials continued, and even two nephews of the Paṇ-c'en where put to death.[3] The future looked dark indeed, and P'o-lha-nas, who was already thinking of rebellion, decided to take himself out of the Dsungars' reach. He had followed sTag-rtse-pa and his Dsungar escort as far as Shigatse; but there he pleaded ill health and applied for an appointment as official (*sne-mo las-'dsin*) in the gÑa'-naṅ district on the Nepalese border. The request was granted. After having made the necessary preparations, he started in the company of the three Bon-groṅ-pa brothers, the youngest of whom was his old friend [Bon-rigs] Ṅag-dbaṅ-bde-c'en, who had helped him during his imprisonment. P'o-lha-nas went first to bKra-śis-lhun-po, where he payed his respects to the Paṇ-c'en. His journey went then through his old fief of Rin-c'en-rtse, now held by bKra-śis-rtse-pa, and hence to Luṅ-nag Śel-dkar,[4] dGa'-ldan P'un-ts'ogs-gliṅ,[5] Maṅ-mk'ar bDe-gliṅ,[6] and came to an end at Śel-dkar Mi-'gyur-rdo-rje.[7] Here he was greeted by the local magistrates, one of whom was a son of bKra-śis-rtse-pa. He took up his duties in gÑa'-

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 156b-157b.

[2] *A2PC*, ff. 286b-288a.

[3] *MBTJ*, f. 159a. Cf. the Mongol document translated by W. Heissig in *ZDMG* 1954, pp. 404, 409. Also *ZDMG* 1951, p. 440.

[4] Luṅ-nag is a district south of Gyantse; G. Tucci, *Indo Tibetica*, IV, I, p. 63. But Śel-dkar is unknown.

[5] Pindsoling of the maps, on the gTsaṅ-po west of Shigatse. Ferrari, p. 66 and n. 560; Wylie, p. 68 and n. 185.

[6] The Maṅ-mk'ar district, watered by the river of the same name, is at one day's march to the west of Sa-skya. Ferrari, pp. 65-65 and n. 515. bDe-gliṅ is unknown.

[7] Shekar-dsong of the maps. Wylie, p. 66 and n. 157.

naṅ, while his uncle dGra'-'dul, to whom he was fondly attached and to whose advice he always listened, went to Nepal, probably on pilgrimage to the Buddhist shrines there.[1]

Up to this point P'o-lha-nas had outwardly behaved more or less like a loyal official of the Lhasa government and of the Dsungar generals. Now, in this out-of-the way place, where he was practically outside the reach of the depleted Dsungar occupation army, his outlook changed. The welcome of the country people had been so cordial and he had found such a ready support, that he now definitely projected an armed rising against the Dsungars. These ideas came to a rapid maturation, when he heard of the events in Western Tibet.

This introduces to the stage one of the foremost actors of Tibetan history of the early 18th century: bSod-nams-rgyal-po of K'aṅ-c'en in Śaṅs, belonging to the dGa'-bži family; many texts and chiefly the Chinese ones call him K'aṅ-c'en-nas. According to some late sources he was a son-in-law of Lajang Khan,[2] who at the end of 1715 or at the beginning of 1716 appointed him as governor (*sgar-dpon*) of mÑa'-ris sKor-gsum (Western Tibet).[3] It was due to his vigilance that the Qōšot ruler got the first news of the approach of the Dsungar army.[4] After the fall of Lhasa and Lajang's death he still maintained his post in mÑa'-ris, although we do not know whether he recognized the authority of the puppet government of sTag-rtse-pa. So much is sure, some time at the end of 1719 he intercepted and annihilated a party of Dsungar soldiers, who were carrying into exile to Dsungaria some old officers of Lajang Khan.[5]

---

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 159b-163b.

[2] The *Jen-fu či-i bičig* of Sung-yün (*amban* in Tibet 1794-1799) quoted by W. Heissig, in *Oriens Extremus* 9 (1962), p. 88; *Life of the Tenth Dalai-Lama*, f. 70a.

[3] For the appointment see *Hsi-yü T'ung-wên-chih*, ch. 24, f. 3b. The date can be inferred from Desideri's travel account. When on the 7th September 1715 he arrived at Gartok, the headquarters of mÑa'-ris, "the commander of those regions and of the troops had been a Tartar prince, and when he died the princess his widow had remained in command for two years (i.e. 1713-1715). Now she had obtained permission to leave with her retainers, and other troops with another commandant were to be sent from Lhasa to replace her"; *MITN*, V, p. 173. Desideri made his journey to Lhasa in the company of this lady, whom Fr. Freyre calls Caçal; *MITN*, VII, p. 199. Her unnamed successor would have been K'aṅ-c'en-nas.

[4] *MBTJ*, f. 117a; cf. above p. 36.

[5] *MBTJ*, f. 166a-b. This must be the same party mentioned by the Mongol document in W. Heissig, *ZDMG* 1954, p. 409.

The story at this point grows somewhat complicated because of the very detailed account of Desideri. He tells us that Lajang Khan's chief minister, whom he calls Targum Treêscij,[1] after his imprisonment and torture and after his adventurous deliverance by Tondrup-zze-ring, fled with all speed toward Western Tibet. There "he sought out, encouraged and organized the survivors of the troops sent by Lajang Khan to defend that extreme frontier of Tibet ... His intention was to close the pass between Gartok and Eastern Turkestan, thus cutting all communications between Cering Donduk and his native country. His design succeeded. The Chinese had occupied the eastern road, so the Dsungar king, being unaware of the snare laid by Targum Treêscij, sent envoys and then troops to reinforce the army in Tibet by the road passing through Gartok. None of the messengers sent from Lhasa to Dsungaria, or any troops sent from there to Tibet, ever reached their destination".[2]

Somewhat later, still according to Desideri, Cering Donduk was getting anxious at the lack of news from Dsungaria and began to suspect of having lost the favour of his ruler. To mollify Cewang Arabtan, if this were the case, he sent a convoy with a strong escort, loaded with all the wealth plundered in Tibet. On its way through mÑa'-ris, the party was invited by Targum Treêscij to a drinking bout, and while intoxicated they were cut down to the last man.[3]

This account is very consistent in itself, and had some resemblance with the story reconstructed from the Eastern source. However, the Tibetan, Mongol and Chinese authorities know of no Qōšot minister of this name. Above all, Targum Treêscij cannot be identified with K'aṅ-c'en-nas for several reasons. The latter was a Tibetan and not a Qōšot; he would have been mentioned by the Tibetan texts if he had been the chief minister for at least thirteen years; and since he was the governor of Western Tibet before, during and after the war, he never fell in the hands of the Dsungar. I am under the impression that Desideri built up a story of his own starting from an actual basis of fact, such as the attempted poisoning of Lajang Khan and his chief minister by the regent Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-

[1] Targum Treêscij may transcribe approximately the Mongol title *terigün* (first-class) *taiji*, the spelling being influenced by the Tibetan *bkra-śis*. *MITN*, VII, p. 242. Cf. the name T'er-kun Ju-naṅ T'a'i-ji in the *Life of the Eighth Dalai-Lama*, f. 113a.

[2] *MITN*, VI, pp. 64-65.

[3] *MITN*, VI, pp. 65-66.

mts'o in 1704 and the anti-Dsungar activities of K'aṅ-c'en-nas in 1720. His Targum Treêscij does not belong to actual history; and indeed he is never mentioned in the letters and accounts of the Capuchin missionaries, who were in Lhasa at the same time as Desideri.[1]

To take up again the thread of our story: P'o-lha-nas sent a to K'aṅ-c'en-nas by a trusted officer of his, informing him of the situation in gÑa'-naṅ and proposing a concerted open revolt.[2] A substantial centre of resistance was thus built up in Western and South-Western Tibet. Whether Chinese intrigue had a hand in this, is difficult to tell. But a possibility of direct contacts had actually existed when in May 1719 five messengers of the marshall prince Yün-t'i, Manchu commander-in-chief, arrived at bKra-śis-lhun-po and were received by the Paṇ-c'en. This imperial mission will be noticed later (see pp. 69). They had several meetings with Dsungar officials [3] but we do not know whether P'o-lha-nas had contacts with the imperial envoys.

Another fact that perhaps contributed in shaping P'o-lha-nas's decision was the death of his uncle dGra-'dul, which happened at mÑa'-ris rDsoṅ-dkar about that time.[4] A restraining element of prudence may have disappeared with him. Before open hostilities broke out,[5] P'o-lha-nas, who remembered that he owed his freedom and perhaps his life to sTag-rtse-pa, sent him a letter, in which he told him that a great Chinese army was accompanying the rightful Dalai-Lama to Tibet, and that their victory was certain; he suggested that sTag-rtse-pa should come secretly to him and take refuge in the gullies of the Ñags-roṅ country in the south, because, in case of Chinese victory, his life was in danger. But as the country was by now in a complete turmoil, the messenger carrying the letter could not reach his destination and had to come back without having accomplished his task. Military operation were by now in full swing in the gTsaṅ-po valley. K'aṅ-c'en-nas and the mÑa'-ris

[1] See also L. Petech, Notes on Tibetan History etc., pp. 279-280.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 166b-167a.

[3] *A2PC*, f. 290a-b.

[4] *MBTJ*, ff. 167a-168a.

[5] This must have been not earlier than the beginning of 1720, because Cering Donduk intervened at the New-Year's festival of that year in bKra-śis-lhun-po; *A2PC*, f. 293b. He could hardly have done so if the country had been in open revolt.

troops had crossed the Maryum-la and had occupied Ńam-riṅs in La-stod.[1] The Paṇ-c'en sent to him his official dKa'-c'en Blo-bzaṅ-dar-rgyas with a letter entreating him to avoid starting a ruinous war in the country.[2] But K'aṅ-c'en-nas took no heed; he advanced as far as Gro-śod,[3] where he encamped. The governor of Gyantse, Rab-brtan-śar-pa, and some troops from Lho-dgon were at Lha-rtse; towards them advanced a division of the mŃa'-ris troops marching towards Śel-dkar under the orders of Ńag-dbaṅ-yon-tan.[4] But as both sides thought only of replenishing their stores and of requisitioning whatever they could use, there was no actual fighting. P'o-lha-nas intervened and made a speech to the leaders, which was a kind of political manifesto. He recounted the atrocities committed by the Dsungars, spoke of the advance of the Chinese army and invited all of them to submit loyally to the Chinese emperor. Everybody assented and pledged his faith to P'o-lha-nas. The troops fraternized amidst general rejoicing.[5]

After this, a chieftain from Nag-ts'aṅ brought the news that a Dsungar force was marching against mŃa'-ris. In order to intercept it, and also because it was feared that the Dsungars would try to carry away the Paṇ-c'en, P'o-lha-nas at once set out with a mixed force composed of troops from Southern gTsaṅ, some Mongols and a mŃa'-ris contingent. He encamped at E-dmar-sgaṅ in Śaṅs,[6] where a Mongol deserter from the Dsungar army told him that the main Dsungar forces had passed through sŃon-mo K'u-luṅ in Nag-ts'aṅ on their way back to Dsungaria. As it was evident that a pursuit would be useless, and since all the fortresses as far as the Kam-pa pass had fallen into his hands, P'o-lha-nas marched back in eight days to the Zaṅ-zaṅ country.[7]

---

[1] Seems to be different from Ńam-riṅs which is on the left bank of the gTsaṅ-po between Lha-rtse and P'un-ts'ogs-gliṅ. It should be somewhere not far from sKyid-groṅ, which is also in La-stod.

[2] *A2PC*, f. 296a.

[3] Gro-śod (Troshot) is the upper valley of the gTsaṅ-po, from the Maryum-la to the Tsachu-tsang-po. Wylie, p. 60 and n. 83.

[4] *Taiji* Ńag-dbaṅ-yon-tan was a former officer of Lajang Khan, and was then and later the chief adjutant of K'aṅ-c'en-nas; *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 2, f. 6b.

[5] *MBTJ*, ff. 169a-171a.

[6] On the northern bank of the gTsaṅ-po, not far from Shigatse.

[7] *MBTJ*, ff. 171a-172b; *A2PC*, f. 296a. Zaṅ-zaṅ is Sangsang in the valley of the Raga-tsangpo. Ferrari, p. 65 and n. 537.

There he met at last K'aṅ-c'en-nas and exchanged gifts with him among the acclamations of the troops. While encamped there, they received a letter from the Manchu commander inviting them to Lhasa. P'o-lha-nas was against immediate acceptance; his reason was that it was doubtful whether the Chinese commander had the power to reward them for their deeds, or whether he had first to report to the court. In this case it was better to wait for the order of the emperor and not to risk the affront of obeying the summons and then returning empty-handed. But K'aṅ-c'en-nas's officers, foremost among them Ṅag-dbaṅ-yon-tan, insisted on compliance, because they did not wish to be absent from Lhasa when the guilty were punished and the deserving rewarded. Their advice prevailed, and soon the two leaders reached Lhasa.[1]

Thus ended the Tibetan rising against the Dsungars. Its chronology is very vague, but I am under the impression that the actual revolt started only in the spring of 1720, possibly aided by the withdrawal of the Dsungar forces in Southern Tibet in order to concentrate against the imperial army advancing from the north. Far from being of help to the Chinese, the revolt had been a direct consequence of the Chinese advance. It achieved little or nothing beyond seizing a country practically bare of occupation troops, and did not influence the main course of the events, which was decided solely by the Manchu-Mongol-Chinese armies.

---

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 171b-173a. During the last stages of the journey the two leaders accompanied the Paṇ-c'en, who had also been invited to Lhasa; *A2PC*, ff. 296b-297a.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CHINESE CONQUEST OF TIBET

The emperor got the first inkling of Dsungar military movements on *jên-shên*/VII = August 26th, 1717. A report by general Funingga from Hsining stated that in the previous year Cering Donduk, Tobci and Dugar Sanduk with 6000 men had marched towards mÑa-'ris in order to help Lajang Khan in his war against Bhutan,[1] and up to the date of writing they had not yet returned.[2] The following events are well-known; the tale has been told by Rockhill, Courant and Haenisch. Haenisch's account [3] is by far the best and most exhaustive; a short outline of the main features of the campaign, drawn from his narrative, will suffice for our purpose. The political aspects of the war will be dealt with later.

When the emperor heard that Cering Donduk was definitely marching south-eastwards, he was at first in doubt about the intentions of the Dsungars. Either they were aiming to conquer Tibet, or they were marching through Tsaidam against Kukunor; in the second case, it was probable that Lajang Khan was cooperating with them. Lajang Khan was a friend of the Chinese; but since his matrimonial alliance with the Dsungars, the emperor did not trust him overmuch. K'ang-hsi prudently took military precautions keeping in view both possibilities. But already in the 8th month (September) of 1717 he received Lajang Khan's letter with the announcement of the arrival of the Dsungars in Nag-ts'aṅ. In the 2nd month (March) of 1718 Lajang Khan's appeal for help came in.[4] It was of course much too late, but nevertheless the Chinese offensive began at once on two fronts: in the north from Hsining through Kukunor and Tsaidam, in the south from Szechwan through K'ams in the

---

[1] Pu-lu-k'o-pa 卜魯克巴, the Tibetan 'Brug-pa.

[2] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 273, f. 8a.

[3] Haenisch, pp. 200-208. The *Shih-lu* contain nearly all of Haenisch's 37 documents, and gives besides some more pieces (chiefly reports by prince Yün-t'i) of little historical importance.

[4] Lajang Khan's appeal was widely circulated by the emperor among the Mongol chiefs; W. Heissig, *Die Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der Mongolen*, I, Wiesbaden 1959, pp. 122-123.

direction Ta-chien-lu—Li-t'ang— Batang. The northern army under the Manchu officer Erentei and the Mongol duke Cewang Norbu entered Kukunor, where they were reinforced by 6000 men of local levies. There they received the news of the fall of Lhasa and of Lajang Khan's death. The whole strategical outlook was changed by this event; it was no more a question of a relief expedition, it was a campaign of conquest which had to be organized on quite different lines. The emperor ordered therefore the postponement of operations until the next year. Only a small detachment under an officer called Sereng (Ts'e-riṅ) was sent towards Tibet for reconnoitring the enemy. Erentei was to follow with a larger force in support. Sereng marched much farther than previously intended, following the call of the Tibetan populations who begged him to save them from the Dsungars. He encamped on the Nag-c'u and, repulsing a night attack by the Dsungars, waited for Erentei. The latter had followed Sereng at a distance of some days, had repulsed a Dsungar attack on the banks of the Čino-γol, and joined Sereng on the Nag-c'u. There they had to resist heavy attacks by strong Dsungars forces. The two Manchu leaders were in complete disagreement, provisions and ammunition gave out, and in the 8th intercalary month (September-October) of 1718 the whole force of about 7000 [1] was destroyed. But the Dsungar army too must have suffered; a project of Cewang Arabtan to reinforce it with 2000 men [2] did not materialize, and Cering Donduk was left to confront the main Chinese attack with a much depleted force.

On the southern front Nien Kêng-yao 年羹堯,[3] the governor of Szechwan, had solidly occupied Ta-chien-lu as the base for further advance, and had sent a detachment to Li-t'ang. In the next year (1719) the Manchu general Galbi took over command in the south; he occupied Batang and prepared everything for an offensive in the next spring, for which purpose the Na-khi ruler of Likiang supplied him with an auxiliary force of 2000 men; [4] local oppositition was sternly repressed by the execution of the abbot of

[1] This number is given in a letter of Fr. Domenico da Fano, dated Thuée, February 2nd, 1719; *MITN*, I, p. 115.

[2] E. Kraft, *Zum Dsungarenkrieg im 18. Jahrhundert*, pp. 53-54, 71.

[3] D. 1726. His biography in Hummel, pp. 587-590.

[4] J. F. Rock, *The Ancient Nakhi kingdom of South-West China*, Cambridge Mass., I, p. 143.

Li-t'ang.[1] A part these local levies, the Szechwan army was composed of Manchu and Chinese troops only. In 1720 by a most noteworthy marching feat over a difficult route, Galbi's forces reached Lhasa, which they occupied on 23/VIII = September 24th. They had met with no opposition, because the Dsungars had concentrated in 'Dam all the troops available, including even Tibetan infantry and cavalry from dBus and gTsaṅ,[2] against the Kukunor army, which was nearer to them and the advance of which threatened their line of retreat. The Kukunor army was commanded by general Yansin (Yen-hsin 延信);[3] he was accompanied also by prince Yün-t'i 允禵,[4] K'ang-hsi's 14th son, the commander-in-chief of the Tibetan theatre of operations. Its bulk consisted of the contingents of the Kukunor and other Mongol princes, with a stiffening of Manchu bannermen. Thus the expedition became a national enterprise of the Kukunor Qōśot and, because of its religious implications, of the Mongols at large.[5] Yansin advanced, repulsed three night attacks by the Dsungars during the march, and reached 'Dam after heavy fighting. Here every resistance ceased. Cering Donduk with the remnants of his army fled from 'Dam toward Nag-ts'aṅ and Dsungaria, while his Tibetan auxiliaries dispersed to their homes.[6] The Dsungar general reached Ili in February 1721. Of his officers, Compil came back three months later; Dugar died of illness during the retreat; Tobci was killed with 500 men. Of the whole army of 6000 men who had marched to Tibet with Cering Donduk, only 500 came back.[7]

Yansin left 'Dam on 8/IX = October 9th, and arrived at Lhasa a week later, bringing with him the new Dalai-Lama.

Till 1718, life at the court of the boy Dalai-Lama in sKu-'bum had followed its even course without much change; at least nothing special can be gleaned from the stately account of the *L7DL*, always concerned only with ceremonies, gifts and state visits of grandees from various countries. But in 1718 the Chinese court

[1] A. Heim, *Minya Gongkar, Forschungsreise ins Hochgebirge von Chinesisch-Tibet*, Berlin 1933, p. 150.

[2] *A2PC*, ff. 296a-297.

[3] Dates of birth and death unknown. His biography in Hummel, pp. 907-908.

[4] 1688-1755. His biography in Hummel, pp. 930-931.

[5] The list of the Mongol princes participating is found in *K. Ann*, p 440-441 (transl. pp. 47-48).

[6] *A2PC*, f. 296b.

[7] E. Kraft, Op. cit., p. 83.

began to turn their attention to the boy, who was the rightful, and since the Pad-dkar-'dsin-pa's deposition, the only Dalai-Lama. During the spring the treasurer dKa'-bcu Ṅag-dbaṅ-dpal-mgon brought several gifts from the emperor and the Chinese ministers. Generally speaking, there were signs of an increased deference and respect on the part of the Chinese. The officers of Funingga's army, which was then preparing for action against Hami, often came to pay their respects. In the 5th month, two officers of Erentei's force asked for the Dalai-Lama's blessing before their departure. The men who acted for the Dalai-Lama, foremost among them his capable father, seem to have soon understood what was in the wind, and they began to spin their threads with Peking. Their faithful supporter, prince Caγan Danjin, who was going to court, was entrusted with a message for the emperor requesting protection and expressing the wish to be escorted to Lhasa. He had an audience with the emperor, who expressed himself in terms favourable to the request. This news caused much joy at sKu-'bum.[1]

A diplomatic interlude preceded the final resumption of hostilities. In the autumn of 1718 some envoys of king Cewang Arabtan passed through sKu-'bum; they were on their way to the Chinese court with a message of their ruler, which justified the invasion of Tibet by pleading his loyalty to the Lamaist church and the necessity of punishing Lajang Khan's misdeeds. In the spring of 1719, the Dalai-Lama's father, during a visit to the fortress of Hsining, was informed that the Dsungar envoys had been well received at Peking and that they were going back to Lhasa with some Chinese officials. It was then decided to send along with them a representative of the Dalai-Lama and some messengers of the Kukunor princes. And thus on 8/III = April 27th, the treasurer dKa'-bcu Ṅag-dbaṅ-dpal-mgon and E-pa Blo-bzaṅ-dkon-mc'og left for Tibet, ostensibly for the purpose of offering gifts to the two holy images, the Jo-bo Śākya in Lhasa.[2] As we have seen above (p. 63) they reached bKra-śis-lhun-po and had several interviews with the Paṇ-c'en and with the Dsungar officer Compil.[3] Their purpose was to secure the

[1] *L7DL*, ff. 45a-47b.

[2] *L7DL*, ff. 48b-49a On the Jo-bo Śākya see E. H. C. Walsh, The image of Buddha in the Jo-wo-khang temple at Lhasa, in *JRAS* 1938, pp. 535-540.

[3] *A2PC*, f. 290a-b.

peaceful withdrawal of the Dsungar army.[1] This of course they failed to obtain, and so force had to be resorted to.

The great Chinese army was then assembling, and the Mongol prince Cewang Norbu, representing the emperor, came to pay his homage to the Dalai-Lama. He had been sent from Hsining by prince Yün-t'i, with offerings for the recitation of prayers for the emperor's life. Shortly afterwards prince Yün-t'i came personally to sKu-'bum and interviewed the boy Dalai-Lama, showing him much honour. The Dalai-Lama wished good success to the imperial arms and took leave of the prince giving him many presents.[2]

The exchange of courtesies, chiefly with the Dalai-Lama's father, continued afterwards for a long time. It was all part of the Tibetan policy newly settled by the emperor. On *i-wei*/IX = November 7th, 1719, K'ang-hsi intimated to the Grand Secretariat his intention of officially recognizing the *qubilγan* of sKu-'bum as the legitimate Dalai-Lama, and gave detailed instructions for his safe escort to Lhasa in the train of the advancing army. He also ordered the convocation of an assembly of the Kukunor chiefs, to hear his decision and to give their advice.[3] This imperial rescript was solemny read by special envoys in the Dalai-Lama's full court. In the words in which the emperor's Tibetan chancery put it, it read: "Within the 4th month of the next year, four great officials (*blon-c'en-mi-drag*) together with the commanders of the great army of fulgent splendour, will lead the most excellent Lama towards dBus-gTsaṅ of Tibet; they will place the lotus of his feet upon the great golden throne, built by Mahādeva ('Jigs-med gDoṅ-lṅa), of the matchless grand palace of Lokésvara, the second Potala".[4] The rejoicing and merry-making at sKu-'bum was indescribable, and all the chieftains hastened to offer gifts to the future ruler of Tibet. On this occasion E-pa Blo-bzaṅ-dkon-mc'og came back from Tibet and gave an account of his mission. He had been well received everywhere, and sTag-rtse-pa and other Tibetan nobles had entrusted him with presents for the Dalai-Lama. About the end of the 10th month (November-December), E-pa and

[1] Desideri, in *MITN*, VI, p. 67. Letter of Fr. Domenico da Fano, dated Lhasa, August 25th, 1719, in *MITN*, I, pp. 117-118.

[2] *L7DL*, ff. 49a-50b.

[3] Haenisch, pp. 392-395 (= *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 285, ff. 16a-18a).

[4] *L7DL*, f. 53a.

another monk were sent to Peking to bring a letter to the emperor [1] and to given him an account of their failure.

In the meantime the assembly of the Kukunor chiefs met at Hsining with Caγan Danjin and Lobjang Danjin as chairmen.[2] They took cognizance of the emperor's rescript and approved it. After the New Year's festival (February 8th), they assembled again at sKu-'bum. Prince Yün-t'i too came there to explain the emperor's intentions. He was received by the father of the Dalai-Lama in a scene of great splendour; the prince was accompanied by a brilliant suite and a division of 3000 men. He was received in audience by the Dalai-Lama, to whom he announced the emperor's plans. The meeting of the Kukunor chiefs ended with their complete approval of the emperor's message and with the promise of cooperation with the Chinese forces.[3] Their decisions were communicated by prince Yün-t'i to the emperor (*kuei-chou*/II = March 24th, 1720). Then at last followed the official recognition of the Dalai-Lama, in the form of the grant of a state seal. On 20/III = April 27th, the precious seal was received at sKu-'bum. It was made of gold and jewels and weighed 130 ounces. It bore in Manchu, Mongol and Tibetan the legend "Seal of the Sixth Dalai-Lama, leader of the creatures, diffuser of the Teaching".[4] Evidently the Imperial chancery with much elegance had avoided all discussion by ignoring the boy's two predecessors, Ts'aṅs-dbyaṅs-rgya-mts'o and Lajang Khan's puppet, who had both been recognized by the emperor. Another document was represented by a diploma engraved on a gold plate of 150 ounces; it bore the date of the day *dge-bar* of the 2nd month of the 59th year of K'ang-hsi. Seal and plate were accompanied by many precious gifts. They were handed over by prince Yün-t'i with gorgeous ceremonial.[5]

On the 22/IV = c. May 28th,[6] the Dalai-Lama set out on his journey to Lhasa, in the train of Yansin's invading army. For

---

[1] *L7DL*, ff. 53b-54b.

[2] Lobjang Danjin was the son of Daśi Bātur, after whose death in 1714 he continued the policy of support to the Li-t'ang boy. He was to play a great role, culminating in his unlucky revolt (1723). See a brief sketch of his life in L. Petech, Notes on Tibetan history etc., p. 288.

[3] *L7DL*, ff. 55b-58a.

[4] *L7DL*, f. 60a; *Loṅ ba'i dmigs bu*, p. 182. Exactly the same title in Chinese: Haenisch, p. 401 (= *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 287, f. 12b).

[5] *L7DL*, f. 60a-b.

[6] *L7DL*, f. 61b; *Loṅ ba'i dmigs bu*, p. 181.

a long distance he was accompanied, as we have seen, by the Chinese commander-in-chief and a considerable escort. At each stage the Mongol chiefs of the neighbourhood presented themselves, offered homage and showered gifts on him. On the shore of the Kukunor it was heard that sDe-pa Ña-p'od-pa of Koṅ-po has revolted against the Dsungars. Prince Yün-t'i sent an invitation to him, and in due course the sDe-pa presented himself to the Chinese in the sKar-ma-t'aṅ plain.[1] We know very little about this man, who was to play an important if infamous role seven years later. The Ña-p'od-pa have always been the foremost family of Koṅ-po. He seems to have been a high official under Lajang Khan and to have succeeded in keeping the Dsungars out of his home district.[2]

The journey continued, and on the banks of the 'Bri-c'u (upper course of the Yangtze-kiang) the T'u-kuan 土觀 Qutuqtu Ñag-dbaṅ-c'os-kyi-rgya-mts'o[3] and the bKa'-'gyur Ta Bla-ma Blo-bzaṅ-ts'ul-k'rims,[4] sent by the emperor, greeted and made obeisance to the Dalai-Lama. In the same place prince Yün-t'i took leave with a great feast, and went back to his standing quarters on the frontier. At Toγo-toloγoi (T'o-go-t'o-lo-mgo) the convoy was joined by the Dalai-Lama's faithful sponsor and chief supporter, Caγan Danjin, with some thousands of Kukunor Mongols. They passed through the gDaṅ-la and came to 'Bog, where there was a moment of danger, because of Dsungar bands still roving in the zone. But no untoward accident happened. On the Nag-c'u the 'Dalai-Lama was greeted by Lotsawa Lha-btsun from bKra-śis-lhun-po. In the gYaṅ-ra pass[5] many Tibetan grandees presented themselves, among them Lum-panas and sByar-ra-ba, the future ministers, the abbot of Rva-sgreṅ and others. At bCom-mdo[6] the representatives of the chief monasteries of northern dBus ('Bri-k'uṅ, sTag-luṅ etc.) gave their welcome to the

[1] *L7DL*, f. 62a-b. sKar-ma-t'aṅ is the Mongol Odon-tala, the marshy region to the west of the Huang-ho sources.

[2] *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 2, f. 6b.

[3] 1680-1736. The first of the T'u-kuan Qutuqtu of Peking. His biography in 'Jigs-med-rig-pa'i-rdo-rje, *Hor c'os 'byuṅ*, transl. G. Huth (*Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, Strasbourg 1896), pp. 280-288.

[4] The abbot of the gSer-k'og monastery in Kukunor; K. *Ann.*, p. 44° (transl. p. 47).

[5] Between Rva-sgreṅ and 'Dam. Cfr. the Chinese itinerary translated by Rockhill in *JRAS* 1891, pp. 93 and 101.

[6] Chomdo of the maps, on the road from Rva-sgreṅ to P'o-mdo (Phondu).

new head of the Church. At Lhun-grub-rdsoṅ [1] the third dignitary of the Yellow Church, the K'ri Rin-po-c'e dGe-'dun-p'un-ts'ogs [2] and the retired K'ri Rin-po-c'e Blo-bzaṅ-dar-rgyas [3] waited upon the Dalai-Lama, together with the most respected and learned monks of the three great monasteries. At 'Brom-ston-p'u the Dalai-Lama received the homage of the leading inhabitants of Lhasa, among whom strangely enough the Dsungars' henchman sTag-rtse-pa. On 15/IX = October 16th, 1720,[4] the Seventh Dalai-Lama entered with all pomp the pillaged and desolated Potala. His retinue was a splendid assemblage of Mongol chiefs, Manchu and Chinese officers and Tibetan clergymen and nobles. In one of the foremost places in the procession, riding to the left side of the Dalai-Lama just behind two Chinese generals, was sTag-rtse-pa, who for the moment seemed to stand in high favour. The Dalai-Lama and his father had reached their goal.[5]

---

[1] Lhundrup-dsong of the maps, on the P'o-mdo — Lhasa road.

[2] The 50th K'ri Rin-po-c'e (b. 1648, on the see 1715-1722, d. 1724). His biography is vol. *Ṅa* of the collection.

[3] The 49th K'ri Rin-po-c'e (b. 1662, on the see 1708-1715, d. 1723). His biography is vol. *Ga* of the collection.

[4] *L7DL*, f. 66b. *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, ch. 13a, f. 3a. Della Penna's date of October 6th may be due to a slip of the pen.

[5] *L7DL*, ff. 61b-67a.

CHAPTER SIX

THE CHINESE PROTECTORATE DURING THE LAST YEARS OF K'ANG-HSI

Immediately after their entry in Lhasa, the Chinese installed a provisional military government,[1] presided by General Yansin and composed of two Khalkha princes (Cewang Norbu [2] and Dondup Dorji),[3] two Kukunor Qōšot chiefs (Lobjang Danjin and Aboo),[4] and two Tibetan noblemen (Ńa-p'od-pa and Lum-pa-nas). They held office till the spring of 1721, when it gave place to the regular government, which had been formed in the meantime.

The main task of the provisional government was the liquidation of Dsungar rule through the trial and punishment of those Tibetans who had collaborated with the Mongol invaders. Foremost among them was of course the regent sTag-rtse-pa. On the arrival of the Chinese troops form Szechwan he had been enticed out of his fortress of sTag-rtse on the sKyid-c'u, and had accompanied the Chinese to Lhasa. At first his activity under Dsungar rule, albeit not unknown to the Chinese, did not prevent them from treating him with deference; we have seen him taking part in the ceremony of the

[1] The complete list is found in *Loń-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 180, where the names are given as follows: *kung* Ts'e-dbań-nor-bu, Don-grub *wang*, bsTan-'dzin *wang*, E-spos Ba'i-li, Ńa-p'od-pa, Lum-pa-nas. Cf. Desideri, in *MITN* VI, p. 75; De Filippi's English translation, p. 172, is rather misleading on this point.

[2] Cewang Norbu was enfeoffed in 1712 as a *chên-kuo kung* in the Sain Noyan division of the Khalkha. After the Tibet campaign he served also against the rebel Lobjang Danjin and in 1724 was promoted to *beise*. He died in 1732; L. Petech, Notes on Tibetan history etc., p. 287.

[3] Dondup Dorji inherited in 1692 the title of *chün-wang*, and in 1700 was promoted to *ch'ing-wang* and Khan of the Tušētu division of the Khalkha. He lost the latter dignity in 1702, but was reinstated in 1723, and died in 1743. L. Petech, Op. cit., pp. 287-288.

[4] Aboo was a great-grandson of Gušri Khan and the chief of the Alashan Qōšots. In 1704 he became *hošo efu* (imperial brother-in-law). He fought in Tibet and against Lobjang Danjin. As a personal enemy of general Nien Kêng-yao, he made a rapid career after the latter's disgrace. He was promoted to *chün-wang* (1724), degraded (1729), reinstated (1732), and died in 1739. L. Petech, Op. cit., pp. 288-289.

Dalai-Lama's entry into the Potala. But then accusations began to reach the Chinese authorities from every side, and soon sTag-rtse-pa was confined in a small house in Lhasa. There was much discussion among the populace, and chiefly among the lieutenants of K'aṅ-c'en-nas and P'o-lha-nas, about the treatment to be meted out to those Tibetans who had accepted office from the Dsungars; many maintained the necessity of exemplary punishment. P'o-lha-nas was decidedly on the side of leniency, and worked hard in favour of sTag-rtse-pa; he remembered that after all he owed to him his freedom and perhaps his life. But soon a definite charge against sTag-rtse-pa was brought before the Chinese general: the betrayal of Surja and Lajang Khan's family into the hands of the Dsungars. P'o-lha-nas went to Yansin and pleaded passionately for the accused. His defence ran on the following lines: sTag-rtse-pa's co-operation with the Dsungars was forced, and the betrayal of Surja was the work of his retainers; on the other hand sTag-rtse-pa had always tried to save the Tibetans from the oppression of the Dsungars; he had even protected the rÑiṅ-ma-pa from persecution; when the Chinese had arrived from K'ams, he had duly paid homage to their generals. Even the Dalai-Lama (or rather his father) was favourable to sTag-rtse-pa, partly because he belonged to a very noble family, and partly because he had been a benefactor of the Church; the Chinese generals were entreated by the Dalai-Lama to spare sTag-rtse-pa's life.[1] But it was of no avail, as the Chinese courteously but firmly rejected any inference.[2] sTag-rtse-pa, his two ministers (*bka'i-dguṅ-blon*) bKra-śis-rtse-pa and A-c'os, and several minor officials were manacled and imprisoned after much dishonour and insult in the Chinese camp at the foot of the Potala. This gave an occasion to P'o-lha-nas for repaying sTag-rtse-pa's former kindness, by providing him with food and clothes, and otherwise caring for his welfare. The Chinese found sTag-rtse-pa guilty of co-operation with the Dsungars, which was the charge weighing most heavily with them, and sentenced him to death. sTag-rtse-pa and the two ministers were led with full pomp under a large escort to the execution ground on the bank of the sKyid-c'u. The troops lined up and gave a triple salvo of musketry, and after this military display the three culprits were

[1] *L7DL*, f. 72a.

[2] Desideri, in *MITN*, VI, p. 74; *A2PC*, f. 299b.

beheaded (11th month of 1720). P'o-lha-nas did not even succeed in saving the dead minister's families from deportation to Peking.[1]

After justice had been done, the important problem of the organization of the new Chinese protectorate received its due attention. The situation of the Chinese after the fall of Lhasa was incomparably more favourable than that of the Dsungars three years before. They had the rightful Dalai-Lama with them, all the glamour and authority of his name in their support. The clergy, always pro-Chinese, rallied to them without difficulty. The nobility, some of whom had been in revolt against the Dsungars, crowded round the Chinese representatives, expecting from them honours, titles and power. Of the provinces, K'ams and Kukunor, always under some measure of Chinese influence, had been effectively occupied during the war. mÑa'-ris and gTsaṅ were under the influence of the most bitter enemies of the Dsungars. Tibet had thus come willingly and completely under Chinese sway; there was no necessity for sending out expeditions from Lhasa to bring the provinces under subjection, as the Dsungars had been compelled to do. Lastly, though the possibility of Dsungar intrigues was by no means to be excluded, a second Dsungar invasion of Tibet was unthinkable, firstly because the great war then going on in Kansu and Turkestan needed all the troops the Dsungar ruler could muster; secondly because communications between Tibet and China were far easier and shorter than between Tibet and Dsungaria. All that was needed was a good religious, political and military organization.

In a country like Tibet, the religious organization came first in order of importance; it was on the whole ready even before the fall of Lhasa. Lajang Khan's puppet Dalai-Lama, who had been interned by the Dsungars in the lCags-po-ri college as a simple monk, was sent to Peking as a precautionary measure against possible intrigues.[2] Upon his arrival to court, he was sent to Jehol, where he was confined,[3] and there he died, possibly in 1725 (see later). He owed his life to his absolute insignificance; he had been a victim of Lajang Khan's blundering religious policy, and had never com-

---

[1] The above account of the trial of sTag-rtse-pa is based on *MBTJ*, ff. 173b-179a, and *A2PC*, f. 299a-b. Cf. Desideri, in *MITN*, VI, p. 74. Once more De Filippi's translation is misleading, as it extends the decapitation to the puppet Dalai-Lama.

[2] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 289, f. 17a (= Haenisch, p. 408). *A2PC*, f. 302a.

[3] *K. Ann.*, p. 440 (transl. p. 47); *A2PC*, f. 302b.

manded any following in Tibet or elsewhere. The Chinese court, who had once recognized him, could therefore display generosity and allow him to live.

The Seventh Dalai-Lama was now installed in the Potala,[1] and employed his first days there in receiving the gifts and homage of the Mongol and Tibetan nobility and clergy. In the 10th month (November) of 1720 the Paṇ-c'en had been invited to come to Lhasa, as his recognition of the new Dalai-Lama was of essential importance. He was accompanied for most of the way by K'aṅ-c'en-nas, and was met outside Lhasa by the Dalai-Lama's father and the Chinese generals.[2] In the Potala he met the young Dalai-Lama, whose religious position had yet to be regularized by the necessary vows and initiations. On the 5/XI = December 4th, the Dalai-Lama pronounced the vows of a novice (*dge-ts'ul*) in the hands of the Paṇ-c'en, the K'ri Rin po-c'e and sKu-mdun sÑags-rams-pa bSam-gtan-rgyal-mts'an; [3] he received the name Blo-bzaṅ-bskal-bzaṅ-rgya-mts'o, by which he was known henceforward. This was the beginning of a shortened but intensive course of studies in the Lamaist theology, as preparation for the exercise of his high office.[4] Shortly afterwards the Dalai-Lama and the Paṇ-c'en celebrated together the New Year festival (January 28th) of 1721 in Lhasa.[5]

The only Chinese interference with the Church was the expulsion of the Dsungar lamas from the three great monasteries and from bKra-śis-lhun-po. They were arrested by the abbots and handed over to the Chinese. Five of them (chief lamas appointed by Cering

---

[1] The Potala had been completely despoiled and partly ruined by the Dsungars in 1717. Its restoration was a long and costly affair. The emperor and his sons contributed handsomely towards the expense; so did also the Manchu princes, the chiefs of Kukunor, the Mongol and Tibetan aristocracy, the monasteries of Tibet and Mongolia, and even the faraway Kalmuks on the Volga. It was truly a pan Lamaist undertaking. After some years the Potala was again its former self, even more beautiful and richer than before.—Mémoire sur le Thibet et le royaume des Eleuths, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. III (Paris 1843), p. 521 n.

[2] *A2PC*, f. 296b.

[3] This was a maternal uncle of the Dalai-Lama; see Doc. I, p. 265. Later he was an ecclesiastic official and bore the title of *darqan*; *Hsi-yü t'ung-wên-chih*, ch. 24, ff. 15b-16a.

[4] *L7DL*, ff. 70b-71b; *A2PC*, f. 298b.

[5] Haenisch, p. 405 (= *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 289, ff. 15b-16a); *MBTJ*, f. 174a; *A2PC*, f. 299a.

Donduk) were decapitated, the rest were imprisoned.[1] This strong measure was necessary in order to eliminate once for all the Dsungar intrigues among the lamas, which had been so effective in 1717.

As to the civil government, the Chinese did away with the office of *sde-srid* (regent), which placed too much power in the hands of a single individual.[2] The form of government they established was a relatively strict form of protectorate. Its main features were a strong Chinese garrison in Lhasa with safe communications with China, and a council of ministers composed of men that could be trusted. The council was to govern the country under the close supervision of the commander of the Chinese garrison, who could always interfere with the decisions of the council when Chinese interests were directly concerned. Also a territorial re-arrangement took place; partly for securing the communications with Lhasa and partly for satisfiying provincial expansionism of Szechwan, the whole of south-eastern Tibet, with Batang, Li-t'ang, Ta-chien-lu and all the country as far as the borders of Central Tibet, was placed under the Chinese governor of Szechwan.[3] The arrangement proved unsatisfactory in the long run, and had to be partly revised in 1725. In the rest of Tibet the council of ministers was supreme. At first it was composed of three men. First in rank among them was K'aṅ-c'en-nas, who was given the Manchu title of *beise* (in the Tibetan texts: Pas-se) and the Mongol title of Daičing Bātur, by which he became known henceforward to the Tibetans. Besides the chairmanship of the council, he maintained the government of mÑa-ris. According to traditional Chinese policy, he was given a colleague, with slightly inferior rank but fully equal powers, it being intended that they should control each other. To this position Ṅa-p'od-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-po was appointed. He too was granted the title of *beise* and was confirmed in the governorship of his native country Koṅ-po. The two chief ministers had one junior minister under them, with whom they were to consult for every matter of impor-

[1] Haenisch, p. 405 (= *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, loc. cit.); *A2PC*, f. 299a; *MBTJ*, f. 174a. Dsungar lamas were first sent to Central Tibetan monasteries by the Dsungar ruler Galdan in the nineties of the 17th century. *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, ch. 525 (*Fan-pu* 8), p. 1639c.

[2] The *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* is wrong in giving the title of *sde-srid* to K'aṅ-c'en-nas. It may be however that in popular usage the chairman of the council continued to be loosely called by the old title of *sde-srid*.

[3] Haenisch, pp. 402-404 (= *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 287, ff. 19a-20a).

tance. This was Lum-pa-nas bKra-śis-rgyal-po, a nobleman from the districts along the gTsaṅ-po in dBus. He had been a finance director (*rtsis-dpon*) in Lajang Khan's time; as we have seen, he had come personally to submit to the Chinese commanders before Lhasa, and was rewarded by the emperor with the title of *fu-kuo-kung* 輔國公 (Tibetan *guṅ*), or duke of the second class.[1] He too was given the government of his native region.[2] According to the *MBTJ*, he was a man of strong sympathies, ready to give quick preferment to his friends and to antagonize those who had the misfortune of displeasing him; in the latter class he almost at one included P'o-lha-nas. Lum-pa-nas was to be the chief villain in the drama of 1727/8. The members of the council were styled in Tibetan *bka'i-mdun-na-'don*, or more commonly *bka'i-dguṅ-blon*, usually shortened into *bka'-blon*.[3]

There were two other personages, who were not members of the council and had no official position in the eyes of the Chinese, but very often took part in the deliberations of the council, and gradually became a kind of unofficial members. One was, quite naturally, the father of the Dalai-Lama. The other was P'o-lha-nas; he had been appointed by K'aṅ-c'en-nas as his chief adjutant and main collaborator, and was also entrusted with the government of gTsaṅ; the emperor gave him the title of first-class *taiǰi*.[4]

The Chinese had come to Tibet with the awoved intention of avenging the death of Lajang Khan.[5] It was also widely rumoured that, when peace was concluded, the emperor would obtain the liberation of Lajang Khan's sons and would place one of them on the throne of Lhasa.[6] Popular rumour of course overstepped the mark, and we know that the Chinese never entertained such an intention. Anyhow, the new regime was certainly not a restoration of Lajang Khan's government. The council was sharply divided. On the one side stood K'aṅ-c'en-nas, supported by P'o-lha-nas, both

[1] Mayers, n. 22.

[2] *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 2, ff. 6b-7a.

[3] On the composition and titles of the council see *MBTJ* f. 179b; *L7DL*, f. 74b; *K. Ann.*, pp. 442-443 (transl. p. 50); *Loṅ ba'i dmigs bu*, p. 180; Haenisch, p. 422 (= *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 291, ff. 11b-12a); *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 2, ff. 6b-7a; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, f. 18b; *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, ch. 8 (*pên-chi* 8), p. 35c; Rockhill in *JRAS* 1891, p. 74.

[4] *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, f. 18b.

[5] Desideri, in *MITN*, VI, p. 74.

[6] Cfr. the above-quoted letter of Fr. Domenico da Fano, dated Thueé, February 2nd, 1719 in *MITN*, I, pp. 115-116.

old and faithful officials of Lajang Khan, both active opponents of the Dsungars, both staunch supporters of the Chinese; territorially, they represented Western and Southern Tibet, the centres of the anti-Dsungar revolt. On the other side, Ña-p'od-pa and Lum-pa-nas, typical representatives of the old-style aristocracy; they had held no very high position under Lajang Khan, had not rebelled against the Dsungars till the last moment, had rallied to the conquerors at the end of the war, and were for the time being lukewarm and unreliable supporters of the Chinese; their main support was to be found in Koṅ-po and the lower gTsaṅ-po valley, territories practically untouched by the Dsungars. They were the exponents of the old national aristocratic parties. As to sByar-ra-ba, he was a mere official of the church and the real brain behind him was the father of the Dalai-Lama. The very composition of the council carried thus in itself the seeds of strife and of the upheaval of 1727. Another strong element of disruption was the fact that, since each of the ministers was the governor of a province, they were pretty often absent from Lhasa in their territories; and the council gradually became a desultory meeting of powerful regional rulers, rather than an administrative body. We shall see that later events developed strictly along the lines sketched above.

As to military organization, it was understood that after the withdrawal of the main Chinese army a strong garrison was to be left in Lhasa. It numbered at first 3000 men (Manchu, Chinese and Mongols) under the command of Cewang Norbu; [1] his chief lieutenant was Aboo. For reasons not very clear to us, the emperor ordered the demolition of the walls built by Lajang Khan; [2] and Lhasa has remained ever since an open city. Early in 1721 the Chinese army marched back to China by the southern road, leaving detachments at Batang, Li-t'ang, C'ab-mdo (Chamdo) and Lho-roṅ-rdsoṅ, to keep open the communications with the garrison of Lhasa.[3]

The dispositions sketched out above were at first intended as a provisional organization. It was understood that later Yansin should return to Tibet to take charge there. 500 men from Yünnan and another 500 from Szechwan (these last commanded by general Galbi) were to reinforce the Lhasa garrison; Yansin was to travel

---

[1] Haenisch, p. 422 (= *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 291, f. 11b).

[2] Rockhill, in *JRAS* 1891, p. 71.

[3] Haenisch, pp. 419-421 (= *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 290, ff. 8b-9b).

with the Szechwan force.[1] But this scheme was not carried out. Yansin never went back to Tibet at all. Galbi set out whith the troops from the zone of the Lu-ting bridge (to the east of Ta-chien-lu), but fell ill and could not travel farther. On the proposal of Nien Kêng-yao, the governor-general of Szechwan through whom at this time all Tibetan military affairs were managed, the emperor on *chia-wu*/IX = October 26th, 1721, ordered that Galbi's official seal be given to Cewang Norbu; this meant the appointment of that Mongol nobleman as Chinese representative and commander-in-chief in Tibet. Aboo was appointed as his assistant for military affairs.[2] Thus the provisional arrangement became a permanent one.

About the same time the emperor ordered a visible sign of the Chinese conquest to be set up in Lhasa; it is the famous pillar inscription, the text of which is found in most of the Chinese works on Tibet.[3]

Coming now to relate the events in Tibet up to the death of K'ang-hsi at the end of 1722, or rather till his death became known in Lhasa at the beginning of the following year, we can dismiss in a few lines the nominal head of the country, the still minor Dalai-Lama. His position under the new form of government was that of an honoured figure-head, with no power whatsoever. But his spiritual influence gave him a real importance, and he was therefore always treated with punctilious deference by the Chinese. Relations with the court of Peking were frequent and cordial. In 1721 an imperial message was brought to Lhasa by two envoys.[4] In the same year Blo-bzaṅ-rab-brtan, abbot of P'a-boṅ-k'a, was sent to Peking,[5] and in 1722 the emperor replied sending several gifts.[6]

---

[1] Haenisch, pp. 423-424 (= *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 291, ff. 30a-31a). Order given on *chi-ch'ou*/III = April 24th, 1721. Cfr. also *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, ch. 8 (*Pên-chi* 8), p. 35.

[2] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 294, f. 8a-b. *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, ch. 525 (*Fan-pu* 8), 164ob.

[3] Translated by Rockhill, in JRAS 1891, pp. 185-187. The imperial order for the setting up of the inscription was issued on *ting-szū*/IX = November 18th, 1721; *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 294, f. 21a.

[4] *L7DL*, f. 77b.

[5] This must correspond with one of the two missions to Peking recorded for the year 1721. The first was received by the emperor on *chia-shên*/V = June 18th (*Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 292, f. 20b), and the second was received on *ting-hai*/X = December 18th (op. cit., ch. 295, f. 12a).

[6] *L7DL*, f. 88b; *A2PC*, f. 318a.

Another mission from the Dalai-Lama and the Tibetan ministers was received by the emperor on *hsin-yu*/III = May 21st, 1722.[1]

The relations of the Dalai-Lama with the Kukunor princes were of the best, specially with Caγan Danjin now as always his chief supporter in that zone. The imperial commanders in Lhasa, the highest of whom, prince Cewang Norbu, was a Lamaist, took part in all the feasts and religious ceremonies. The settlement of the Tibetan troubles reacted also favourably with the neighbouring countries. Thus we hear of missions to the Dalai-Lama despatched in 1720 by the king of Bhatgaon (Tibetan: K'o-k'om) in Nepal;[2] in 1721 by the king of Kathmandu (Yam-bu),[3] the Bhutanese rulers,[4] the king of Dsum-le,[5] the ruler of Sikkim;[6] in 1722 by the king of Patan (Ye-raṅ) in Nepal.[7] A curious relic of bygone times presented itself to the Dalai-Lama in 1721: "The son of the *bdag-po* of Guge, of the family of the religious kings of Tibet", accompanied by the abbot of mT'o-ldiṅ (Toling).[8] In other words the legitimate descendant (son would be chronologically impossible) of the last king of Guge, the protector of the Jesuits, dethroned in 1630 by Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, king of Ladakh.[9] The prince, called in the *A3PC* Blo-bzaṅ-padma-bkra-śis, remained at the courts of Lhasa and bKra-śis-lhun-po during the whole of this period, and died in the first half of 1743.[10]

Of personal matters concerning the Dalai-Lama, it needs only to be said that he passed several months of each summer in 'Bras-spuṅs for his courses of theological studies. His mother died in 1722.[11] His father developed a particular attachment for the

---

[1] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 297, f. 8a-b.

[2] *L7DL*, f. 73b.

[3] *L7DL*, f. 74b.

[4] *L7DL*, f. 74b.

[5] *L7DL*, f. 77b. On the kingdom of Jumla ('Dsum-laṅ) in Western Nepal, which till the 14th century included also mÑa'-ris sKor-gsum, see G. Tucci, *Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal*, Rome 1956, pp. 37-71, 105-130. The rulers of Jumla had been assiduous in paying homage to the Fifth Dalai-Lama. G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 74.

[6] *L7DL*, f. 88a.

[7] *L7DL*, f. 88a.

[8] *L7DL*, f. 81a.

[9] See L. Petech, *A study on the chronicles of Ladakh*, Calcutta 1939, pp. 140-141.

[10] *L7DL*, f. 299b; *A3PC*, f. 47a.

[11] Funeral rites were performed for her in the first days of 1723. *L7DL*, f. 91b.

ancient temple of bSam-yas on the left bank of the gTsaṅ-po above rTses-t'aṅ, founded by king K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan c. 775. He went there at the beginning of 1721 [1] and at the end of 1722 the former K'ri Rin-po-c'e Blo-bzaṅ-dar-rgyas could already betake himself there in order to consecrate and inaugurate the repairs carried out by order of the Dalai-Lama's father.[2]

On the activities of the new Tibetan government, our information is practically limited to the *MBTJ*. One of the first problems they had to cope with, was that of the rÑiṅ-ma-pa. P'o-lha-nas had been educated at sMin-grol-gliṅ, a rÑiṅ-ma-pa monastery, and throughout his life he protected this sect, although he always remained outwardly a follower of the Yellow Church. He was now of the opinion that, as the emperor's edicts enjoined the return of Tibet to the conditions prevailing under the Fifth Dalai-Lama, the old religious situation had to be restored as well. Through the Dsungar persecution, the rDsogs-c'en sect (*grub-mt'a-la-ris-su-c'ad-pa-med-pa*), the rÑiṅ-ma-pa and the married monks (*gzugs-btsun*) [3] had suffered a loss of about 550 monasteries pillaged or destroyed; these had to be repaired and re-endowed. But the proposal met with difficulties in the council and was vetoed by Cewang Norbu and the Kukunor princes; the Dalai-Lama too was against it. P'o-lha-nas insisted in his proposals, pointing out the unfairness of upholding a measure taken by the Dsungar usurpers, till at last Cewang Norbu and Aboo grew angry, and he had to give way. Still, he obtained at least that the rÑiṅ-ma-pa should be allowed to rebuild their monasteries by their own unaided efforts.[4]

With or without pressure from Chinese side, the new rulers thought of giving some sort of military help to the emperor in his war against the Dsungars. At the beginning of 1721, while K'aṅ-c'en-nas went back to mÑa'ris, P'o-lha-nas led a small force through Nag-ts'aṅ into the desert plains of the North-West. But they suffered so much from fatigue, hunger and thirst, that they had to retreat without even seeing the enemy. In Nag-ts'aṅ, P'o-lha-nas had to settle a dispute arisen between the gTsaṅ provincial general

[1] *L7DL*, f. 77b.

[2] *L7DL*, f. 89b. *The bSam-yas monastery* (ed. Lokesh Chandra), p. 65. Cf. Kloṅ-rdol, vol. 'A, f. 18a.

[3] I take these *gzugs-btsun* to be the same as the *btsan-btsun* of the Fifth Dalai-Lama's regulations. G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 69.

[4] *MBTJ*, ff. 180a-181b.

(*mda'-dpon*) Nu-ma-ba and the local herdsmen, who were subjects of the Paṇ-c'en; he arranged it by an amiable interview with the treasurer (*gan-mdzod*) of bKra-śis-lhun-po. When the winter came, P'o-lha-nas with his troops left Nag-ts'aṅ and returned through Śaṅs to P'o-lha and hence to bKra-śis-lhun-po, where on the 9/XI = December 27th he paid respects to the Paṇ-c'en.[1] Shortly after New Year's day (February 16th) of 1722 [2] P'o-lha-nas was back in Lhasa. He offered his homage to the Dalai-Lama, reported on his negative mission to the Chinese commanders, and regained touch with current affairs through discussions with Ṅa-p'od-pa and the father of the Dalai-Lama.

It was on this occasion that mDo-mk'ar Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal, the author of the MBTJ, attached himself to P'o-lha-nas. Born in 1697 as the heir of the ancient family of the sTag-luṅ chiefs, he studied at Se-ra and sMin-grol-gliṅ. In 1716 he entered the service of Lajang Khan as tax-collector a Shigatse; on that occasion he visited for the first time the Paṇ-c'en. In 1717 he was *rdsoṅ-dpon* of Shigatse when the Dsungars stormed Lhasa. He shifted his allegiance to the puppet government and became first *rdsoṅ-dpon* of lCag-rtse Gri-gu [3] and later *mgron-gñer* (chamberlain) of sTag-rtse-pa, in which quality he was present at the state entry of the Dalai-Lama in Lhasa.[4] The disgrace of sTag-rtse-pa ruined for the moment his promising career. Ts'e-rin-dbaṅ-rgyal and his father were summoned by the Chinese to justify themselves; the son went into hiding in Nag-ts'aṅ, the father was arrested, but later released on the intercession of P'o-lha-nas. In 1722 Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal came to Lhasa to pay homage to the Dalai-Lama, and could re-enter public office, but only as a lay official (*druṅ-'k'or*).[5]

After his return P'o-lha-nas did not stay for long in Lhasa. As he was the most trustworthy officer available, Cewang Norbu requested him to undertake a survey of the routes in Nag-ts'aṅ, by which the Dsungars had come to Tibet, and to prepare a report to be forwarded to the emperor. Aboo took the occasion for asking

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 183a-186a. *A2PC*, f. 313a, where he is already given the title of *rtsis-dpon*, finance director.

[2] *MBTJ*, f. 186a, has by mistake Water-Hare year 1723. *L7DL*, f. 81a, places this in the last months of 1721.

[3] Trigu-dsong of the maps in Southern gTsaṅ. Ferrari, p. 56 and n. 348.

[4] *sTag-luṅ*, ff. 391a-392b; *MBTJ*, f. 174a; *L7DL*, f. 70a.

[5] *sTag-luṅ*, f. 393b; *MBTJ*, f. 186b.

P'o-lha-nas to procure for him thirty good mÑa'-ris horses. P'o-lha-nas first went back to P'o-lha to equip himself for the journey. Thence he set out with a small force. Passing through Seṅ-rtse,[1] Rog-c'e etc., he reached Nag-ts'aṅ, where he encamped. From his central point he sent out surveying parties to examine the various roads and paths. No sign of the enemy was seen, though P'o-lha-nas was always the alert and kept his men fit by continuous and strenuous exercise. In the 10th month (November/December) of 1722 he set out for the return journey, after having procured the horses for Aboo; and soon he was back in P'o-lha.[2]

During his absence the imperial high command in Lhasa had gone through a crisis. In the spring of 1722 the Ta Bla-ma Ts'ul-k'rims-bzaṅ-po had arrived from Peking with an imperial letter and orders for Cewang Norbu.[3] He stayed on in Lhasa, possibly as an unofficial observer for the imperial government. Thus it happened that on *jên-yin*/VII = August 29th, 1722, Nien Kêng-yao, the governor-general of Szechwan, reported to the emperor that he had received a memorial from Lama Ts'ul-k'rims-bzaṅ-po and from Shih Ju-chin 石如金, a Chinese agent in Tibet;[4] it said that officers and troops in Tibet were at loggerheads among themselves, because duke Cewang Norbu was a weak man, and because several officials were causing trouble and strife, foremost among them the expositor of the Hanlin[5] Man-tu 滿都 and the second-class secretary[6] Padma (Pa-t'ê-ma 巴特麻). The memorialists proposed either to keep the troops in Tibet and to recall Man-tu and Padma, or to send all the troops back to Chinese territory and to maintain in Tibet only a well-organized postal stages system, in order to keep the officials at

---

[1] Perhaps Shentsa-dsong of the maps, about long. 88° 47′, lat. 30° 55′.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 187a-189b.

[3] *L7DL*, ff. 83a, 87a. This is Culcim Dsangbu Ramjamba of the *Chun-ko-êrh fang-lüeh* (Haenisch, pp. 218-219), the lama-geographer who in 1717 was the companion of Śengju in his journey to Tibet. Incidentally, Ranjamba, correctly *rab-'byams-pa*, is an academic title corresponding to something like Dr. Phil. This Tibetan text and the Chinese document to be quoted presently dispose of the contention of W. Fuchs, *Der Jesuiten-Atlas der K'anghsi-Zeit*, p. 12, that two lamas were meant. There was certainly another lama- cartographer, but his name is mentioned nowhere

[4] *Hsi-tsang pan-shih chih chih-fu* 西藏辦事之知府. Cfr. Mayers, nn. 556 and 560.

[5] *Shih-tu-hsüeh-shih* 侍讀學士. Mayers, n. 203.

[6] *Yüan-wai-lang* 員外郎. Mayers, n. 164.

Lhasa in communication with the court; only a reserve force was to be stationed at Chamdo. The latter alternative did not appeal to the energetic old emperor. Besides, he strongly resented that subordinate officials should have dared to advise the evacuation of the Chinese troops from Tibet. He ordered the repatriation of both the mischief-makers (Man-tu and Padma) and the memoralizers (the Lama and Shih Ju Ju-chin). The financial commissioner [1] of Hsian-fu, called Darin (T'a-lin 塔林), was to replace Man-tu. The governor [2] Sertu (Sê-êrh-t'u 色爾圖) was to go to Tibet and to reestablish order among the Chinese soldiery of the Green Banners, whose discipline had much deteriorated. Padma was to be replaced by an official sent for this purpose, who was to restore order among the clerks of the Chinese command, acting in concert with Cewang Norbu. Nien Kêng-yao was to supervise the whole movement.[3] The effect of these measures was soon felt. On *wu-tzŭ*/IX = October 10th, Sertu was able to report complete order and smooth working in the Chinese command and troops. Of the 3500 men then in Tibet, 1900 were necessary for security and for the watching of the 66 postal stages newly organized. The remaining 1600 could be safely repatriated, and it was highly advisable to do so, because of the difficulties of supply and of the high expenses of the army in Tibet.[4] As we shall see from the Tibetan texts, the Chinese occupation army was indeed a most heavy burden on the poor country.

This movement of officials and the special mission of Sertu are mentioned also in the Tibetan texts, which tell us of the arrival of three Chinese officials (*ta-žiṅ*, Chinese *ta-jên* 大人), who were still in Lhasa when the news of the emperor's death arrived.[5] Their names, or rather titles, are given as A-sa Am-ba, Pu-ciṅ and Ma-sa-ma sByar-go-c'i. We may as well discuss here the titles of the Chinese officals sent to Tibet in this period, as they appear in their Tibetan garb. As a rule, the higher officials were Manchus and employed the Manchu or Mongol nomenclature. The chief envoy is usually styled A-sa-han Am-ba, a transcription of the Manchu title *aṣhan-i amban*, corresponding to the Chinese *shih-lang*

[1] *Pu-chêng shih-szŭ* 布政使司. Mayers, n. 275.
[2] *Hsün-fu* 巡撫. Mayers, n. 274.
[3] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 298, ff. 11b-13a.
[4] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 299, ff. 5b-6a.
[5] *L7DL*, f 90a.

(vice-president of a board),[1] but also more vaguely employed for a member of the Grand Secretariat. His courtesy title was always *amban*, corresponding to the Chinese *ta-ch'ên* 大臣;[2] it remained attached to the office of the two imperial residents in Tibet, and became widely known in Europe at the time of the Chinese-British negotiations over Tibet at the end of the 19th century. But properly speaking, it was always a mode of address, more or less like His Excellency in Europe, and had nothing to do with the office of imperial resident, which was established only after the civil war of 1727/8, as expressly stated by the Chinese texts.[3] These first ambans were no permanent residents, had no administrative powers and were without a colleague. They had of course with them a small staff of junior officers, usually styled sByar-go-c'i (or 'Jar-go-c'i) and sBi-c'a'i-c'i. The first title is the transcription of the Mongol *jarγuči*, Manchu *jargôci*, Chinese *tuan-shih-jên* 斷事人,[4] meaning judge, or at least judicial officer.[5] The second is the Mongol *bičēči* (*bičiγeči*), Manchu *bitheśi*, Chinese *pi-t'ieh-shih* 筆帖式, which was the title of the Manchu clerks in the public offices. The Tibetan texts give no personal names, and were it not for the Chinese documents, we would be unable to distinguish between the various officials with identical titles who came to Tibet in different times. In this case, A-sa Am-ba evidently refers to the governor Sertu. Pu-ciṅ transcribes *pu-chêng* (*-shih-szŭ*), the Chinese title of the finance commissioner Darin. Ma-sa-ma sByar-go-c'i must be the unnamed official sent to replace Padma.

Soon after P'o-lha-nas had returned home, he received the news that K'aṅ-c'en-nas, on his way back from mÑa'-ris, intended to pass through Ñaṅ (Central gTsaṅ). To give greater weight to the impending meeting, P'o-lha-nas summoned to Luṅ-nag Śel-dkar [6] all the high officials of gTsaṅ to discuss matters of common interest. It was a great gathering of the local aristocracy. Most of them agreed with P'o-lha-nas, although some dissenting voices were not lacking, chiefly that of *mda'-dpon* Nu-ma-ba. The subjects discussed had mostly to do with finance, and the treasurers of K'aṅ-

[1] Nieh Ch'ung-ch'i, p. 104.
[2] Nieh Ch'ung-ch'i, p. 99.
[3] *Shêng-wu-chi*, ch. 5, f. 12b.
[4] Nieh Chung-ch'i, p. 107.
[5] P. Pelliot, *Notes d'histoire kalmouke*, pp. 70-71. But see later p. 257.
[6] See above p. 60.

c'en-nas, one of whom was Ňag-dbaṅ-yon-tan, came in for much criticism.[1] The encounter with K'aṅ-c'en-nas took place ad Bo-gdoṅ bKra-śis-sgaṅ.[2] There was much pomp, rejoicing and sports; then business began. There was a serious complaint from the people of gTsaṅ about arbitrary taxation and corvées. The matter stood thus: the Chinese commanders had imposed on the population the feeding and care of the horses and mules of the Chinese troops. As the beasts were dying in great numbers because of the difference of climate, the people to whom they were entrusted were compelled to replace them. Besides, the population was hit by several taxes to be paid not in natural produce, but in valuable horses. On the top of all, the ministers Lum-pa-nas and Ňa-p'od-pa were in their turn oppressing the people of gTsaṅ with arbitrary taxation. K'aṅ-c'en-nas and P'o-lha-nas were entreated to go to Lhasa and to do something for the relief of the population, because "even if the Dsungar troops were to come back, what distress heavier than this could befall us?" The blessings of Chinese domination were by now becoming apparent to the man in the street. But the natural leaders of the people of gTsaṅ owed everything to the Chinese, and had to be very cautious in this matter. Anyhow, K'aṅ-c'en-nas promised to refer the question to the emperor and to the Dalai-Lama, provided P'o-lha-nas went with him to Lhasa; the latter agreed.[3] The pledge was actually honoured as we know from Chinese sources that the Tibetans protested to the emperor against the burdens of the occupation.

We may also mention in passing that the long protracted wars and foreign occupations had caused a sharp increase of the cost of living. The Capuchins repeatedly complained of this fact, and Fr. Gioacchino da S. Anatolia in a letter of November 20th, 1724, wrote that "what in the past year cost one mor [4] now costs three".[5]

On this occasion K'aṅ-c'en-nas with a great suite made a state

---

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 190a-191b.

[2] Possibly in the neighbourhood of the temple of Bo-doṅ E in Westernmost gTsaṅ. Ferrari, p. 67 and n. 568.

[3] *MBTJ*, f. 193a-b.

[4] The *mohar* was then the monetary unit of Nepal. It was a silver piece weighing 6 māśā, and thus corresponding to half the Indian rupee of 12 māśā; *MITN*, IV, p. 235.

[5] In *MITN*, I, p. 127.

visit to the Paṇ-c'en, by whom he was received with much pomp on the 6/XI = c. December 13th, 1722.[1]

At the beginning of winter, K'aṅ-c'en-nas and P'o-lha-nas arrived in Lhasa. It is noteworthy that already at that time P'o-lha-nas had anticipated hostility and danger in the capital, and had offered prayers and gifts to the priests, to avert any accident. And indeed the very arrival of the two ministers in the town revealed the changed atmosphere and gave occasion to unpleasantness; the other ministers tried to avoid placing at the disposal of the newcomers a residence fit for their rank, under the plea that all the palaces and finer houses had been requisitioned by the Chinese garrison. The difficulty once smoothed over, K'aṅ-c'en-nas and P'o-lha-nas paid their respects to the Dalai-Lama and to the Chinese commanders.[2] After the New Year's festival (February 5th) of 1723, in which they took part,[3] they settled down to business.

As the complaints of oppression and arbitrariness in the allotment of taxation were increasing in Lhasa too, P'o-lha-nas undertook personally the supervision of the account department, which was lodged in the dGa'-ldan palace at the end of the town. We do not know when he was formally appointed finance director (*rtsis-dpon*), because his biographer does not mention the fact.[4] However, the A2PC (but not the *L7DL*) gives him that title already at the end of 1721 and again in the spring of 1723.[5]

As we have seen, his training in finance work in his young years fitted him admirably for this post. But instead of giving relief to the tax-payers, he devoted his whole energy to increasing the efficiency of the department, in view of the heavy demands which the maintenance of the Chinese army placed on the treasury. He soon reestablished good order in the functioning of the various offices. As some tax-payers were in the habit of notifying their departure from the country in order to avoid paying revenue, P'o-lha-nas caused it to be proclaimed that their houses and estates were to be handed over to any other man who would be willing to

[1] *A2PC*, f. 321a.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 196b-197a.

[3] *L7DL*, f. 90b; *MBTJ*, ff. 197b-198b.

[4] Besides, the *MBTJ* seldom employs the official titles, but prefers some literary periphrases, such as *bka'i-mdun-na-'don* for *bka-'blon*, *g·yul-gyi-k'a-lo-pa* for *mda'-dpon*, etc.

[5] *A2PC*, ff. 313a, 325a.

pay revenue on them. This drastic measure soon put an end to the practice, because men began looking about for "vacant" houses and estates to be claimed as their own. P'o-lha-nas then regulated the levy of the yearly tax, and determined the powers of the tax-collectors on a more humane basis. He carried out a general revision of the archives, which were very disordered and untrustworthy, and reorganized them in 300 ledgers (*deb-t'er*).[1]

While P'o-lha-nas was engaged in his financial activities, the news of the death of the emperor K'ang-hsi reached Lhasa. With the decease of the great Manchu emperor, the system of stern and efficient supervision of Tibetan affairs was relaxed; his successor, as we shall see, followed a quite different policy, which soon led to civil war and chaos.

---

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 199b-200a.

CHAPTER SEVEN

TIBET AND THE NEW POLICY OF YUNG-CHÊNG

The emperor Shêng-tsu (K'ang-hsi) died on December 20th, 1722. The Dalai-Lama was much grieved when he heard of the sad event; he had been very grateful to the dead emperor, to whom he owed his present position. Solemn funeral rites were conducted in the hermitages of rTses and O-rgyan-gliṅ; the Dalai-Lama himself through 49 days offered prayers and oblations for the spiritual good of the deceased, and organized various other ceremonies in Lhasa.[1] The rite at bKra-śis-lhun-po, to which the Chinese commanders participated, took place on the 8/IV = c. May 12th, 1723.[2] The new emperor Yung-chêng, K'ang-hsi's fourth son, son, sent at once a mission to Lhasa, headed by a Jasak TaBla-ma,[3] to communicate officially the news of K'ang-hsi's death and of his own accession.[4] The mission visited the Paṇ-c'en on the 22/VIII = c. September 21th,[5] but for reasons unknown to us they did not meet the Dalai-Lama for a long time, till after the departure of the Chinese troops from Lhasa. The mission had also brought to K'aṅ-c'en-nas the order to betake himself to mŃa-'ris and to look to the defence of the routes in mŃa'-ris, Nag-ts'aṅ and Sa-ga,[6] by which Dsungar troops could reach Tibet. K'aṅ-c'en-nas at once complied, and P'o-lha-nas accompanied him for a part of the journey. Through bKra-śis-lhun-po they came to sNar-t'aṅ, where P'o-lha-nas caused the temple to be repaired; it was his first connection with the place through which he was to gain his most lasting fame in Tibet, as the promoter of the sNar-t'aṅ edition of the Tibetan canon. Then K'aṅ-c'en-nas travelled through Śel-dkar-rdsoṅ to mŃa'-ris, and P'o-lha-nas went to P'o-lha and thence back to Lhasa. His relations with the Chinese authorities were now of the best, and the clash over the

---

[1] *L7DL*, f. 92a-b.

[2] *A2PC*, f. 324b.

[3] On this title see Mayers, nn. 602, 603, 604.

[4] *MBTJ*, f 200b.

[5] *A2PC*, f. 326b.

[6] Or Sa-dga'; a district to the west of gTsaṅ, comprising mainly the valley of the Chaktak-tsangpo; its capital is Sa-dga'-rdsoṅ (Saka-jong of the maps).

rÑiṅ-ma-pa question was forgotten. There were gorgeous festivals, in which particularly Aboo took part.[1]

All this came to an abrupt end. Suddenly an imperial rescript was received in Lhasa, which changed the whole situation. On *chia-shên*/III = April 9th, 1723, the emperor gave order to his council to consider and submit concrete proposals for the evacuation of Chinese troops from Tibet. The memorial drawn up by the Grand Secretariat set forth that it was feared that a too long stay of the Chinese garrison in Lhasa would place an unbearable economic burden on the Tibetans. It proposed the recall of Cewang Norbu and of Aboo to the capital, via Hsining. Other units were to march back via Yünnan, and the Chinese Green Bannersmen from Szechwan were to return home through Ta-chien-lu. Chamdo was the key of the whole net of communications in Eastern Tibet; it was to be held permanently by a garrison of 1000 picked Green Bannersmen, and governor-general Nien Kêng-yao had to find some trustworthy officers for this important post. The council further recognized the great importance of mÑa'-ris, which was Tibet's frontier territory against the Dsungars. As K'aṅ-c'en-nas must now return to Lhasa and conduct government affairs from there, he could no more give his attention to mÑa'-ris: he should therefore be given some able assistants for the administration of that province. As to Hsining, at the head of the Kansu-Tibet route, its normal garrison of 6000 Green Bannersmen was deemed quite sufficient; all the troops above that number were to be withdrawn. The emperor gave his sanction to these proposals.[2]

This fateful measure was a part of the retrenchment policy of the new emperor, who intended to put an end to K'ang-hsi's imperialistic drive, and to reduce the commitments of the empire outside the borders of China proper. In the following year he was even to conclude a short-lived peace with the Dsungars. It was a well-meant decision, but it took no account of the hard facts. If the Chinese garrison was withdrawn, how was the Chinese influence to be maintained? What effective check could there be upon Dsungars intrigues and the yearning for independence of the Tibetan aristocracy? These questions had not even been thought of by the emperor in his hasty decision. The order was operative,

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 201a-203a; *A2PC*, f. 325a.

[2] *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 5, ff. 2b-3b.

and Cewang Norbu and Aboo at once prepared for their departure. Their parting visit with the Dalai-Lama was very cordial, and he expressed his sincere regrets in seeing them go.[1] Before they left Lhasa, they received two messengers from K'aṅ-c'en-nas in mÑa'-ris. The minister was much worried by this new turn of Chinese policy, which deprived him of his strongest support and left him exposed to the envy and intrigues of his colleagues in the council. His message to Cewang Norbu can be summarized thus: "The departure of the troops had, it is true, the advantage of the cessation of the corvées, requisitions and taxes, which had gone a long way towards creating serious disaffection among the population (a strangely outspoken and bold statement to make!). But the Dsungar menace was by no means over; the Dalai-Lama was young and fickle, the Paṇ-c'en was growing old, and the country was turbulent. In these conditions the withdrawal of the Chinese was a great evil. He, K'aṅ-c'en-nas, intended to send a messenger to the emperor, requisting cancellation of the order. Could not one of the Chinese commanders remain in Lhasa till a reply arrived? If this were impossible, would they at least before leaving give him clear instructions and definite directives as to the policy to be followed?"—It was of no avail. The Chinese commanders put off K'aṅ-cen-nas's messengers with empty words (they would discuss the matter and give a reply later), and marched off without caring about the situation they left behind.[2]

Perhaps it was in order to balance in some way the disastrous moral effects of this hasty departure, that the Chinese mission headed by the Ta Bla-ma presented themselves to the Dalai-Lama in the Ra-sa 'P'rul-snaṅ and formally announced to him the accession of the new emperor; they were entertained at a great feast and accompanied the Dalai-Lama to Se-ra, where he passed a part of the year 1723.[3]

Of course this had no practical significance. But things had been overdone, and the emperor himself must have thought that he had to make some sort of provision for the continuance of Chinese supervision in Tibet. Shortly after the order of withdrawal, on *chi-hai*/III = April 24th, 1723, the emperor "appointed the senior

[1] *L7DL*, f. 94a.
[2] *MBTJ*, f. 204a-b.
[3] *L7DL*, f. 95a-b.

secretary of the Mongolian Superintendency [1] Orai, (O-lai 鄂賴) [2] to be a sub-chancellor of the Grand Secretariat [3] and a joint vice-president of the Board of Rites.[4] He was to go to Tibet to supervise its affairs".[5] In the Tibetan texts this Orai is styled as usual the *aṣhan-i amban*. He brought the usual complimentary message for the Dalai-Lama.[6] But he was no mere ceremonial envoy like the Ta Bla-ma, whom he found still in Tibet and who left for Peking shortly afterwards. As we have seen, he was entrusted with a political mission concerning the government of Tibet. When the council assembled (K'aṅ-c'en-nas, who was still in mÑa'-ris, being replaced by the father of the Dalai-Lama), Orai communicated the emperor's confirmation of the two chief ministers in their office, and the suggestion that P'o-lha-nas be admitted to the council. It was the deserved reward for his faithful services. Everybody agreed (who would dare to oppose a suggestion by the emperor?), and P'o-lha-nas was duly appointed as minister (*bka'i-dguṅ-blon*) and member of the council. Strangely enough, this appointment is ignored in the Chinese documents, to which P'o-lha-nas seems to be totally unknown before 1727. On the question as to who should be appointed as P'o-lha-nas's helper (*ra-mda'*), there was a serious disagreement in the council and several candidates were proposed. At last P'o-lha-nas and a *biṭheśi* of the *aṣhan-i amban* went to 'Bras-spuṅs, wrote the names of the seven candidates on slips of paper, and drew one at random. The name that came out of the copper bowl was that of sByar-ra-ba Blo-gros-rgyal-po.[7] This was a comparatively unknown man from dBus, who was a treasurer (*p'yag-mdsod*) of the Dalai-Lama, and who in 1720 had gone to meet the imperial troops along with Lum-pa-nas.[8] He too was accorded the rank of *bka'-blon* and was granted by the emperor the title of first-class *taiji*.[9] Al-

[1] *Li-fan-yüan lang-chung* 理藩院郎中. Mayers, nn. 162, 183.

[2] In 1719 he had been charged with a secret mission to Chamdo. Cfr. Haenisch, p. 391.

[3] *Nei-ko hsüeh-shih*. Mayers, n. 142.

[4] *Chien li-pu shih-lang* 兼禮部侍郎. Mayers, nn. 161, 155.

[5] *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 5, f. 18b.

[6] *L7DL*, f. 96a.

[7] *MBTJ*, f. 205a-b. The standing of the two new appointees was not apparently equal to that of the older members; *K. Ann.*, p. 443 (transl. p. 50), calls P'olha-nas a lesser (*c'uṅ-ba*) *bka'-blon*.

[8] *L7DL*, ff. 64b, 71b.

[9] *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 2, f. 7a.

though a layman, he was probably intended to represent in the council the interests of the church. After these transactions, organization of that important province in accordance with the emperor's edict of April 9th.[1]

At this point a sudden and serious crisis arose on the north-western border: the revolt of some Kukunor chiefs led by Lobjang Danjin, a grandson of Guśri Khan and since 1714 the head of the Kukunor Qōśot clans.[2] Till then he had been a loyal servant of the emperor, had taken part in the Lhasa expedition and had even acted as a member of the Tibetan provisional government. It seems that he entertained the ambition to be appointed as head of the Tibetan administration,[3] and that the frustration of this wish led him to a desperate step. In 1723 he began intriguing among the Kukunor chiefs, and in the 8th month (September) of that year he broke out in open rebellion. He dreamt of unifying the Qōśots and reviving in his person the imperial dream of Guśri Khan; it was in this spirit that he assumed the lofty title of Dalai Qungtaiji.[4] He robbed and treated with indignity the TaBla-ma, who was passing through Kukunor on his return journey; he defeated the loyalist forces under Caγan Danjin and invaded the Chinese frontier territories.[5] With great promptness the imperial authorities took steps for the protection of Tibet. "As it was feared that Lobjang Danjin would perturb Tibet, the marshall for the pacification of distant lands [6] Nien Kêng-yao, and the brigade-general [7] of the Sung-p'an 松潘 brigade Chou Ying 周瑛 led out their Szechwan troops, about 2000 men; they started from Ta-chien, lu, and from the neighbourhood of Ho-êrh-kan-tzŭ 霍爾甘孜 [8] they summoned to submission the Fan and I barbarians who had never been pacified before. Then they went straight to Tibet. The emperor

[1] *MBTJ*, f. 206a.

[2] A short outline of his life in L. Petech, Notes on Tibetan history etc., p. 288.

[3] *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 10, f. 3b.

[4] E. H. Parker, Campaigns of K'ang-hi, Yung-chêng and K'ien-lung, in *China Review* XVI (1887/8), p. 110. This article gives a fairly good account of the rebellion. Cf. also E. Kraft, Op. cit., p. 104.

[5] *MBTJ*, f. 206a-b.

[6] *Fu-yüan ta-chiang-chün* 撫遠大將軍.

[7] *Tsung-kuan-ping* 總官兵. Mayers, n. 441.

[8] Kandse of the maps, in the Horba country on the Ña-c'u (Yalung-chiang). Wylie, p. 104 and n. 682.

also sent the provincial commandant of Yünnan, Ho Yü-lin 郝玉麟,[1] as supreme commander of the troops of Yünnan and Kueichou, about 1000 men, to garrison Chamdo and to function as support". [2]

In Tibet too the authorities took quick action. As soon as rumours of the revolt reached Lhasa, the council recalled in great haste K'aṅ-c'en-nas from mÑa'-ris (in one month they sent messengers to him seven times); and soon he was back in the capital along with the *aṣḥan-i amban* Orai.[3] Orai assembled the council, condemned the rebels in strong words and requested help for the loyal Mongol princes still holding out against the revolt. P'o-lha-nas, the best Tibetan general and the one most trusted by the Chinese, was to lead the expeditionary forces. K'aṅ-c'en-nas offered himself for the task, but as his presence was necessary in Lhasa for the defence of the country, the *aṣḥan-i amban* insisted on the choice of P'o-lha-nas, and his departure was decided. As the council was thinking first and above all of the security of Tibet, a limited task was set to him: he was to take position in Nag-śod [4] and to hold that region in subjection.[5] Another measure was taken on this occasion; in the 9th month (October) the Dalai-Lama sent the K'ri Rin-po-c'e dPal-ldan-grags-pa [6] to the Kukunor princes; he was to exert the whole influence of the Tibetan church in order to restrain them from siding with the rebels and to keep them in subjection to China.[7]

P'o-lha-nas hastened to prepare the expedition. His place in the finance department was taken, provisionally and until his return, by his biographer Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal.[8] The force which accompanied P'o-lha-nas was formed mainly by 500 men from 'P'an-yul, led by

[1] His biography in *Man-chou-ming-ch'ên-chuan*, ch. 36, ff. 20a-23b, and in *Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien lei-chêng*, ch. 65, ff. 52a-59b. He belonged to the Chinese Bordered White Banner; died in 1745.

[2] *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, ch. 13a, f. 6b; *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 2, f. 7b.

[3] On the 12/XII = c. January 8th, 1724, he visited the Paṇ-c'en; *A2PC*, f. 329a. But it is to be surmised that he arrived at Lhasa earlier than that.

[4] Nag-śod is the region to the south-east of Nag-c'u-k'a; Wylie, p. 103. It was subject to Lobjang Danjin; W. Heissig, in *ZDMG* 1954, p. 410.

[5] *MBTJ*, ff. 206b-207b.

[6] The 51st K'ri Rin-po-c'e, on the see from 1722 to his death at the end of 1729. His biography is vol. *Ca* of the collection.

[7] *L7DL*, f. 96a-b; *A2PC*, f. 327a-b.

[8] *MBTJ*, ff. 207b-208b; *sTag-luṅ*, f. 394a.

the *mda'-dpon* of dBus, 'Bum-t'aṅ-pa Blo-bzaṅ-dar-rgyas. In the gÑan-c'en-t'aṅ-lha mountains he was joined by other troops, of which he held a great review. The march continued till the army encamped on the banks of the Nag-c'u. After two days there, they were hard hit by a sudden flood which caused great damage, notwithstanding the clever devices invented by P'o-lha-nas for giving shelter to his troops.[1] From the camp on the Nag-c'u the region was scoured for rebels and slowly reduced to normal conditions by appropriate means, sometime stern and sometimes lenient. Once, about a score of rebels were taken prisoner by the local levies of Nag-śod and brought to P'o-lha-nas, who treated them well and set them free. A local Mongol chieftain with the title of Erdeni J̌inong submitted without resistance and was sent to Lhasa. Rebellious clans were attacked and pillaged. Thus, by these wide-range operations from the Nag-c'u base, the-districts to the south of the Kukunor were led back to Chinese sovereignty. They were: Nag-śod, Yul-śul, Hor-k'a-gži, upper and lower 'Broṅ, rDo-śul, K'yuṅ-po white, black and yellow; a total of about 20.000 homesteads.[2] P'o-lha-nas remained on the spot during the autumn and winter, till in the spring of 1724 he heard that the imperial generals Nien Kêng-yao and Yüeh Chung-ch'i 岳鍾琪 had completely crushed the rebellion and that Lobjang Danjin with only a few followers had fled towards the country of the Dsungars.[3] He then issued a proclamation to the people of the region, informing them of the end of the revolt and summoning them back to allegiance. He threatened the rebels with complete destruction if they did not submit, and pointed out the stern punishment meted out to offenders.[4] We may surmise that this proclamation marked the end of operations on the Nag-c'u. These operations had been directly or indirectly supported by the considerable activity of the Chinese light forces in Kukunor. In the process of hunting down Lobjang Danjin's associates, these units of light cavalry often crossed into Tibet and penetrated far

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 208b-210b.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 210b-212a.

[3] Parker, Campaigns of K'ang-hi etc., p. III. Hummel, p. 588. Biography of Yüeh Chung-ch'i (1686-1754) in Hummel, pp. 957-959. E. Kraft, Op. cit., pp. 114-118. *MBTJ*, f. 212a-b.

[4] *MBTJ*, ff. 212b-213a.

into the country.[1] We may presume that P'o-lha-nas had acted in collaboration with them. As the situation was by now well in hand, he went back to Lhasa. The campaign seems to have been fairly profitable, and he had collected a good deal of money, horses and other movable property, which he duly handed over to the treasury and to the stud of the Dalai-Lama. The council with the *aṣhan-i amban* and the Dalai-Lama's father assembled and solemnly commended P'o-lha-nas for the fine work done, of which a report was sent to the emperor. A less happy result was a quarrel between P'o-lha-nas and Lum-pa-nas because of the latter's envious and insincere behaviour during the campaign. On the whole it had been a successful operation of police, of not much military value. Its importance lay in the fact that it checked the spread of the rebellion southwards and debarred the rebels from help from that quarter.[2]

Shortly afterwards, on *ting-hai*/III = April 6th, 1724, the emperor recalled the *aṣhan-i amban* Orai, transferring him to Hsining in charge of Mongol affairs there.[3] But Orai delayed carrying out the order and left Lhasa only several months afterwards.[4]

The revolt was repressed in the 2nd month (February-March) of 1724.[5] The emperor seized the occasion for establishing his sovereignty in Kukunor, which became from that time onwards an integrant part of the Chinese dominion. But during his flight, before he reached his haven of refuge in Dsungaria, Lobjang Danjin caused a last scare to the Chinese and Tibetan authorities. "In the 6th month (July-August) of the next year (1724) it was spied out and reported that Lobjang Danjin on his flight was crossing the frontier of Tibet at the locality of K'o-li-yeh 克哩野.[6] The general [Chou Ying] chose 300 picked men and at the same time Beile K'ang-ch'i-nai led out about 10.000 men of Tibetan troops. From Yang-pa-ching 陽八井[7] they journeyed

[1] Pursuit, arrest and execution of Mu-ts'an mK'an-po Bla-ma and Taiji Chi-mu-pa by the officer of the guard Ta-nai. Reported to the court on *kuei-mao* III = April 22nd, 1724. *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch 17, f. 27a.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 213a-214a.

[3] *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 17, f. 15b. *MBTJ*, f. 214a.

[4] The *aṣhan-i amban* took leave of the Dalai-Lama in the autumn of 1724; *L7DL*, f. 102b.

[5] Hummel, p. 958.

[6] The Keriya-kötel pass between Chinese Turkestan and Western Tibet.

[7] Yaṅs-pa-can on the Lho-roṅ-c'u, from 1503 to 1792 the headquarter

together on the same road as far as Ko-lo-tsang Ku-cha 噶勒藏骨察;[1] then because of the obstacles and of the snow they led back their soldiers".[2] The Tibetan texts perfectly agree with this account. They say that a rescript from the Chinese court ordered the A-sa-han back to China and directed that a division under K'añ-c'en-nas and the marshall Bra'u Ta-lo-ye[3] should march through the land dGa'-ts'añ K'o-ts'a and to pursue and destroy Lobjang Danjin, while a strong corps from Hsining co-operated with them. K'añ-c'en-nas and the Chinese general requested the collaboration of P'o-lha-nas, who accepted. The troops set out on their difficult journey. But soon winter set in and the roads were blocked by snow, so that the army had to retreat. The return journey was beset with many difficulties and hardships, but it was successfully carried out, and in the spring of 1725 K'añ-c'en-nas and P'o-lha-nas were back in Lhasa.[4] The noteworthy thing about the whole campaign is that the Chinese-Tibetan forces did not dare to march straight towards Eastern Turkestan by the terrible route which the Dsungars had followed in 1717, but preferred the enormously longer but easier detour via the Murui-usu region.[5] Because also of the length of the road chosen, their expedition was perfectly useless. And doubly so, because it had been occasioned by a false alarm; Lobjang Danjin never entered Tibet at all, but contented himself with the refuge he found in Dsungaria.[6] Anyhow, the uneasiness in Tibet had

---

of the Red Bonnets (Žva-dmar) section of the Karma-pa sect. The last incarnation having taken part for the Gorkha in the Nepalese war of 1792, the monastery was confiscated and turned over to the dGe-lugs-pa. Ferrari, p. 69 and n. 620; Wylie, p. 78 and n. 331.

[1] Or Galtsang Guja. Appears to be at or near the Atag Hopchiga of Prževalskij, c. long. 92°28′, lat. 33°27′, to the south of the Murui-usu.

[2] *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, ch. 13a, f. 6b. *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 2, f. 7b.

[3] Chinese Chou [Ying] *ta lao-yeh* 大老爺. *Lao-yeh* is a title of respect commonly given to officials. Laufer, *Loan Words in Tibetan*, in *TP* XVII (1916), n. 297.

[4] *MBTJ*, ff. 214b-215a.

[5] It is the same Keriya-Tengrinor-Lhasa route described in the *Hsi-chao-t'u-lüeh* (Rockhill, in *JRAS* 1891, p. 19). A detailed itinerary of the Lhasa-Galtsang Guja portion of this route is given in the *Wei-tsang-t'u-chih* (ibid., pp. 90-91).

[6] He lived there to an old age, and fell in the hands of the Chinese in 1755, when the Dsungar kingdom collapsed. He was pardoned, given a Chinese title,

lasted for quite a while; on 15/VII = September 2nd, 1724, the Dalai-Lama's father and K'aṅ-c'en-nas wrote to the Paṇ-c'en excusing themselves for their inability to effect the intended visit to bKra-śis-lhun-po, as the *aṣhan-i amban* thought that their presence in Lhasa was indispensable till the Kukunor revolt was stamped out.[1] The reason for this was that Lhasa was full of rumours, and the wildest news spread through its bazaars. Once it was even believed that the emperor was going to abolish the autonomy of the country and to send a Chinese viceroy to govern it.[2] This nervousness made the situation at the capital particularly delicate.

Partly because of this military activity, the prestige of the Tibetan government was growing higher, and the Dalai-Lama continued to receive envoys from several neighbouring states, among them from Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, king of Ladakh (1691-1729),[3] who had been Desideri's host in 1715. The Nepalese rulers and the king of Sikkim continued to send their representatives to the New Year's festival, which became to occasion for a colourful meeting of envoys from nearly all the Himalayan states.[4]

On the events of the year 1725 the *MBTJ* is nearly silent. But it seems to have been a relatively quiet period in the troubled political situation of Tibet.[5] What little we know of this year, concerns the relations with China. In the first months of 1725 the Dalai-Lama sent, through the *bičēči* Ňag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ, a letter to the emperor on the subject of the monasteries of Amdo. We know from the Chinese texts that in 1724 "the lamas of Kukunor had

and allowed to settle in Inner Mongolia. He was still alive in 1762. L. Petech Notes on Tibetan history etc., p. 288.

[1] *A2PC*, ff. 332b-333a.

[2] Post-scriptum of Francesco Orazio della Penna to a letter of Gioacchino da S. Anatolia dated November 20th, 1724, in *MITN*, I, p. 129.

[3] *L7DL*, f. 97b. The Ladakhi mission then continued its journey to Peking and was received at the Chinese court on *i-wei*/VI = August IIth, 1724; *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 21, f. 19b.—The dates here given for Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal disagree with those in L. Petech, Notes on Ladakhi history, in *IHQ* 24 (1948), p. 222; they are based on new researches, which I hope to publish later.

[4] *L7DL*, f. 98a.

[5] It was one of the best years for the Italian missionaries in Lhasa. They obtained some privileges from K'aṅ-c'en-nas and the Dalai-Lama, the Tibetan texts and Italian translations of which can be found in *MITN*, IV, pp. 188-192. They had even begun to build a church. Towards the end of the year a flood caused popular tumults against them; *MITN*, III,

supported the revolt of Lobjang Danjin. The lamas of all the temples of Kukunor, a mass of some thousands in all, started trouble. Things went so far that the great lama Čaγan Nomun Qa'an [1] too allied himself with the rebels, and they offered armed resistance. The imperial army punished and pacificed them. The emperor pronounced the disgrace of their families, than which nothing is worse. He also took back the seals of Teacher of the Empire [2] and Master of Dhyāna [3] [granted by] the Ming dynasty from all the temples. At the same time he issued a regulation to the effect that the temple-halls were not to exceed 200 pillars and all [their inmates] were not to exceed 300 men for each monastery".[4] These harsh limitations were only the lesser part of the evil; in the course of the revolt about 700 monks had been killed and various monasteries had been destroyed by the troops of Nien Kêng-yao and Yüeh Chung-ch'i, foremost among them the monasteries of gSer-k'og and dGon-luṅ. The Dalai-Lama now begged the emperor to allow their restoration to the former state. On the intercession of the T'u-kuan Qutuqtu, the emperor, after some delay, assented to the request and even gave the means for the reconstruction of the two monasteries. The work was completed in 1729.[5]

In 1725 the Chinese government was twice compelled to take measures in order to prop up their tottering organization of Tibetan affairs. On *hsin-ch'ou*/III = April 15th, the emperor gave a reply to Nien Kêng-yao, who had complained that K'aṅ-c'en-nas continued to reside in his province of mÑa'-ris and came very seldom to Lhasa; Nien Kêng-yao asked for an order to the Tibetan minister to reside in Lhasa. The emperor expressed doubts as to the opportunity of such an order. It was unknown whether K'aṅ-c'en-nas would

pp. 91-93; but thanks to the protection of K'aṅ-c'en-nas things were soon smoothed over. As far as I am aware, the Capuchins are mentioned only twice in Tibetan texts. Probably this small European community was deemed too unimportant to deserve attention, inspite of their repeated interviews with the Dalai-Lama.

[1] The abbot of sToṅ-'k'or near Hsi-ning. See Mayers. n. 595.

[2] *Kuo-shih* 國師. On this title see Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 25.

[3] *Ch'an-shih* 禪師.

[4] *Shêng-wu-chi*, ch. 5, f. 12a-b. *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, ch. 525 (*Fan-pu* 8), p. 1640b

[5] *L7DL*, f. 109b; 'Jigs-med-rig-pa'i-rdo-rje (*Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei*), p. 285; *Re'u-mig*, p. 77. On gSer-k'og (Seerkok) and dGon-luṅ (Erh-ku-lung) see L. M. J. Schram, *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier*, II, Philadelphia 1957, pp. 27-37.

conform with it willingly and whether he would be able to work in harmony with Ňa-pʻod-pa, Lum-pa-nas and the others. If Kʻaṅ-cʻen-nas were ordered to reside in Lhasa, and then Ňa-pʻod-pa and the others disobeyed him, Kʻaṅ-cʻen-nas would certainly do his best, but he lacked the power to keep the other members of the council in order. Besides, Kʻaṅ-cʻen-nas would always yearn for his beloved mŇa'-ris and would try to go back there at the first opportunity. The emperor thought that the best solution was to order Kʻaṅ-cʻen-nas to reside by turn in Lhasa and in mŇa'-ris. But as the matter was very important, he gave order to the amban Orai (by now a vice-president of the Imperial Despatch Office)[1] to examine the question and to give his considered advice, based on his old experiency of Tibetan affairs. Orai suggested that Kʻaṅ-cʻen-nas should carry on his administrative duties both in Lhasa and in mŇa'-ris; that he should travel to and fro between his two residences, as often as his work required him to do so; and that when he went to mŇa'-ris, Ňa-pʻod-pa should be entrusted with his duties in Lhasa. The emperor chose to follow Orai's advice and passed orders accordingly.[2] It had been one of the last memorials submitted to the throne by Nien Kêng-yao before his disgrace, and it failed to secure approval, as indeed happened to all the proposals coming from the doomed man. The responsibility for the muddle in Tibet lay primarily with the emperor himself, who had saddled Kʻaṅ-cʻen-nas with two irreconcilable duties, and had ordered him to Lhasa, then back to mŇa'-ris, then again to Lhasa. This continuous vacillation reflected itself now in these orders, which were at the best a weak compromise. The whole unhappy arrangement of uniting in the same persons territorial governorship and membership of the council, was fundamentally unsound and was slowly but surely wrecking the government.

But in the end the emperor had to recognize that things could not go on forever in this way. In 1725 the Grand Council memorialized the throne in the matter of mŇa'-ris, a region whose importance for frontier defence was self-evident. Kʻaṅ-cʻen-nas, having to reside for long periods in Central Tibet, had asked for sanction to appoint a deputy in mŇa'-ris, for which post he had proposed his elder brother dGa'-bži-ba Tsʻe-brtan-bkra-śis.[3] We are not told whether the em-

[1] *Hui-tʻung shih-lang* 會同侍郎. Mayers, nn. 161 and 182/XIV.

[2] *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 30, f. 3a-b; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, f. 20a.

[3] *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, f. 20b. It is apparently the abstract of a lost

peror gave his approval, but in any case dGa'-bži-ba was actually appointed, because on 25 V (= c. July 5th) 1725 we find a governor of Western Tibet (sTod *sgar-dpon*) dGa'-bži-nas, as different from K'aṅ-c'en-nas.[1]

Later in the year, on *i-wei*/XI = December 5th, the Grand Secretariat discussed a memorial sent by Yüeh Chung-ch'i, the new governor-general of Szechwan and Shensi, who in June of that year had taken the place of the disgraced Nien Kêng-yao. The council proposed a reorganization of Chinese administration in the frontier districts of Tibet. At the time of the Chinese conquest, all the country as far as dBus had been placed under direct Chinese administration. But in those pathless and rugged tracts Chinese bureaucratic machinery was practically ineffective and very expensive. The council proposed: A—to maintain the incorporation of Batang, Li-t'ang, sDe-dge (Derge) and of the country of the Wa-śul Hor with China, but to entrust the administration of these tracts to the local chieftains under Chinese supervision; B—to give back to the government of Lhasa all the country between these protectorates and dBus, mainly the region of Lho-roṅ-rdsoṅ. An amban (*ta-ch'ên* 大臣) was to be sent as an envoy extraordinary to Lhasa, to intimate to the Dalai-Lama the new imperial favour. K'aṅ-c'en-nas and Ṅa-p'od-pa, till then charged with Tibetan administration without Chinese official title, were to be formally appointed as Prime Minister (*tsung-li* 總理) and Deputy Prime Minister (*hsieh-li* 協理) respectively, under imperial letters patent. To give an effective support to the Tibetan government, an old proposal of Nien-Kêng-yao was taken up again; the council advised the establishment of a strong military base at Ka-ta 噶達 (Tibetan mGar-t'ar),[2] under a brigadier-general with a sufficient force at his command. The emperor gave his sanction to all these proposals, and appointed the imperial clans-

document, which is missing in the *Shih-lu*. Details of the date are not given, only the year (1725) is mentioned. The document is placed before the résumé of Nien Kêng-yao's proposals; but the logical sequel of the events seems to be necessarily the one sketched above. It is interesting to note that the full name of K'aṅ-c'en-nas's elder brother is found only in this passage of the *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*.

[1] A2PC, f. 337b.

[2] Also called T'ai-ning 泰寧. To the north-west of Ta-chien-lu on the road to Derge. Wylie, p. 102 and n. 633.

man [1] brigadier-general Oci (O-ch'i 鄂齊), the chancellor of the Grand Secretariat [2] Bandi (Pan-ti 班第) [3] and the Jasak Ta Bla-ma dGe-legs C'os-rje (Ko-lo-k'o Ch'o-êrh-chi 格勒克綽爾濟) as envoys to Tibet. The provincial commander of the Imperial Despatch Office [4] Chou Ying was to take care of the details of the arrangement.[5] It was a sound measure, a much needed lightening of the heavy Chinese commitments in Tibet. The cumbersome and unwieldy direct control of the border zones was replaced by a sensible and elastic form of protectorate. But once more the emperor left out of account the hopeless inefficiency of the Tibetan council, which was unable to carry out this new task, or indeed any kind of administrative work. The high-sounding titles given to K'añ-c'en-nas and Ña-'od-pa made no practical difference to the situation. We may mention that it was probably on this occasion that P'o-lha-nas received an imperial diploma (*'ja'-sa*) conferring upon him and sByar-ra-ba the title of Jasak Taiǰi.[6] This was an additional honour, conferred on the first-class *taiǰis* and accompanied by a seal of office issued by the government.[7]

In the first days of the 11th month (December) of 1725, the Dalai-Lama and the Paṇ-c'en received imperial envoys, who had been sent by the emperor to present them with a complete set of the bsTan-'gyur together with its supplements and the complete works of gTsoñ-k'a-pa and of the lCaṅ-skya Qutuqtu.[8] This is of course the so-called Red bsTan-'gyur of Peking, which had been finished printing in the previous year.[9]

During the New Year's festival (February 2nd) of 1726, the Dalai-Lama blessed the merits of the deceased Dam-pa mK'an-po Qutuqtu Ñag-dbañ-ye-śes-rgya-mts'o, who had died in the previous year.[10] This might be the predecessor of the Seventh Dalai-Lama,

[1] *Tsung-shih* 宗室. Mayers, n. 29.

[2] *Hsüeh-shih* 學士, abbreviation of *nei-ko hsüeh-shih*.

[3] A Mongol general, d. 1755. His biography in Hummel, ff. 15b-16b.

[4] *Hui-t'ung t'i-tu* 會同提督. Mayers, nn. 440 and 182/XIV.

[5] *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 38, ff. 2a-3b.

[6] *MBTJ*, f. 215b.

[7] Mayers, n. 538.

[8] *L7DL*, f. 114b; *A2PC*, ff. 339a-340a.

[9] Its demand for an imperial postface is dated 15/IV = May 7th, 1724. P. Cordier, *Catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, II, Paris 1915, pp. 534-536.

[10] *L7DL*, f. 115a.

the puppet of Lajang Khan; but actually there is nothing in favour of the identification except the sameness of the name. Although the protection of the emperor and his own insignificance may have compelled some show of respect, it is difficult to conceive how the Dalai-Lama could bless the memory of an usurper. Anyhow, we know from another source that the pretender had at least some followers, because after his death in exile his reincarnation was discovered in K'ams; but the child soon died of smallpox, and no further attempt was made in this direction.[1]

Since 1724 the Dalai-Lama had prepared himself by an intensive study of the sacred texts under the guidance of the K'ri Rin-po-c'e. And now on 15/IV = c. May 16th, 1726,[2] the great ceremony of his consecration, by which he acquired his full spiritual powers, was held at Lhasa in the 'P'rul-snaṅ. The Paṇ-c'en had come to Lhasa; with him acting as disciplinary superior (*mk'an-po*) , the K'ri Rin-po-c'e dPal-ldan-grags-pa acting as teacher of the rules (*las-slob*) and the rGyud-smad Slob-dpon Ňag-dbaṅ-mc'og-ldan[3] acting as esoteric teacher (*gsaṅ-ste*), the Dalai-Lama took the vows of a *dge sloṅ*. After the ceremony the bTsan-po Nomun Qa'an (chief Qutuqtu of Kukunor) and *naṅ-so* Rin-c'en-don-grub were sent to the emperor to announce the event.[4] P'o-lha-nas took no part in the feast; he had gone to invite the Paṇ-c'en, and then had remained at Shigatse to procure the means for the great ceremony from the local finance. He came to Lhasa only when the feast was over, and was then received by the Dalai-Lama.[5]

At the beginning of the 7th month (July-August) of 1726, the mission sent by the emperor in the 11th month of the previous year arrived at last in Lhasa. Its head is indicated in the *MBTJ* (f. 218a) and in the *A2PC* (f. 353a) by the title of Bandhe rDor-k'e An-pa, and in the *L7DL* (f. 119) by the title of Dor-ga A-sa-han Am-pa. Bandhe is evidently Bandi, and it seems that *he* was in the eyes of the Tibetans the chief of the mission, and not the

[1] *dPag-bsam ljon bzaṅ*, 2nd part (ed. S. Ch. Das), p. 304.

[2] A. Giorgi, *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, p. 337, has the wrong date of 1724, which has misled some Western authors.

[3] He became later the 54th K'ri Rin-po-c'e (b. 1677, on the see 1739-1746, d. 1751). His biography is vol. *Ña* of the collection. He was also the spiritual teacher of the lCaṅ-skya Qutuqtu. Cfr. Kloṅ-rdol, vol. *'A*, f. 12a.

[4] *L7DL*, ff. 115b-117b; *A2PC*, ff. 344a-346a; Biography of the 51st K'ri Rin-po-c'e (vol. *Ca*), f. 4a-b.

[5] *MBTJ*, ff. 216b-218a; *L7DL*, f. 119b.

imperial clansman Oci. rDor-k'e or Dorga A-sa-han Am-ba is the Manchu title *dorgi ashan-i amban*, a somewhat irregular rendering of *nei-ko hsüeh-shih*, sub-chancellor of the Grand Secretariat,[1] which was Bandi's rank. Nearly at the same time as the Chinese mission, there arrived a messenger who had been sent to Peking by K'aṅ-c'en-nas; he brought an imperial edict, which deserves to be translated in full, from its Tibetan version in the *MBTJ*: "Order of the emperor. May the Dalai-Lama realize the self-illumination in the ocean of divine texts of *sūtra* and *mantra*. The sMin-grol-gliṅ-pa, who are the followers of the teaching of the essence of the old *mantras*, and the rDo-rje-brag-pa, may stay together in the temple of Zan-g·yaṅ (i.e. temple of the Three Styles),[2] or may effect a change of religious system (*siddhānta*), as they prefer. But the [other] followers of the religious system of the earlier translations (the rÑiṅ-ma-pa), who dwell in their monasteries, not only their pride must be repressed, but it is inexpedient for them to plunge into irregular practices pretending to work for the welfare of the creatures by initiating converts, explaining the tantras, teaching the moral precepts etc. They shall not perform the repression of demons, the burnt offerings (*homa*), the throwing of magical weapons (*gtor-zor*),[3] all of which are illicit exorcisms (*abhicāra*), without the evocation of the protecting deities and without lasting embodiment of the mystic with these deities. From now on, those who wish to become monks shall not have it in their power ad libitum, but shall enter only the teaching community of the Yellow Bonnets". This edict was given publicity by an official proclamation. And in accordance with it, Bandi told the ministers that they must take steps, through the authority vested in them, to suppress the teaching of the rÑiṅ-ma-pa.[4] It was a definite attempt at interference in the religion of the country. Although measures against the old schools would be of great benefit to the Yellow Church, religious persecution was utterly against Tibetan tradition

[1] See back p. 104 and cf. Nieh Chung-ch'i, p. 106.

[2] Zan-g·yaṅ is a transcription of the Chinese *san-yang* 三樣. The three styles are: Indian, Tibetan and Chinese. It is a name of the temple of bSamyas. Cf. *Grub mt'a' śel gyi me loṅ*, f. 24b (*Zan yaṅ mi 'gyur lhun gyis grub pa*), and *bTsun mo'i bka' t'aṅ*, in B. Laufer, *Der Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, Leipzig 1911, pp. 119-120.

[3] On this ceremony, used for repelling terrific deities, see R. Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and demons of Tibet*, The Hague 1956, pp. 354-358.

[4] *MBTJ*, f. 218a-b.

and spirit. Once before such an attempt had been made, by the Dsungars; and it had contributed in a high degree to turning the people of Tibet against them. Now the attempt was to be repeated by the order of the almighty suzerain of Tibet; one gets even the impression that he was advised to take this step by the Mongol lamas of Peking, who did not wish to be overdone in zeal by their Dsungar brethren. As to the noteworthy exception in favour of sMin-grol-gliṅ and rDo-rje-brag, it is perhaps due to their sufferings at the hands of the Dsungars.

The imperial edict was badly received in the council at Lhasa. There was no question of parties here; all the ministers were against the proposal. But nobody dared to speak openly against it. Only P'o-lha-nas, whose devotion and loyalty towards China was beyond doubt, rose to speak fearlessly against it. He said that he descended from a family traditionally dGe-lugs-pa; he had been initiated at bKra-śis-lhun-po, and few had honoured and supported the Yellow Church as he had done. But how could the rÑiṅ-ma-pa teaching be called a perverse one? The First Paṇ-c'en Blo-bzaṅ-c'os-kyi-rgyal-mts'an and the Fifth Dalai-Lama had studied the prophecies of Padmasambhava. gTsoṅ-k'a-pa himself had respected all the Indian spiritual ancestors of the rÑiṅ-ma-pa and had not rejected the secret mantras. How could the council declare the rÑiṅ-ma-pa to be heretics? Their followers were harmless, even beneficent people; why should they not be left in peace, if the emperor had shown mercy even to such an evildoer as Cering Donduk? The Tibetan people felt much reverence for the teaching of the gSaṅ-c'en-sñiṅ-po (Guhyagarbha) [1] and no evil consequence had ever been feared from its practice. This impassioned plea, a fine piece of simple and heartfelt eloquence, had its effect. The Chinese envoy not only showed no displeasure, but even caused the speech to be written down. In the evening of the same day, K'aṅ-c'en-nas, who had been rather frightened by P'o-lha-nas's boldness, asked privately for an explanation. P'o-lha-nas replied that he had acted not from any thought of popularity or of personal advantage, but only for the good of the country. It is true that, according to the words which Rig-'dsin-gyi-slob-dpon-c'en-po drew from a concealed sacred text (*gter-ma*), the old faith

[1] gSaṅ-sñiṅ-po-pa was a common name of the rÑiṅ-ma-pa. G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 258.

was decayed and needed reform. "Nevertheless, of the various kinds of paths according to the thought of the *siddhānta*, some are praised and some are rejected; it is not a matter of choice? And if you, my lord, who are famous for the excellent keenness of your discriminating intelligence, follow these trifles and decide the teaching of the gSaṅ-c'en-sñiṅ-po to be heretical, you collect a *karma* which will destroy your great accumulation of merit". K'an-c'en-nas did not reply. Then in the council the Dalai-Lama's father declared under an oath that somebody must go to Peking to get new orders. Lum-pa-nas and K'aṅ-c'en-nas refused to go, so it was decided to send the Mongol Ts'ul-k'rims-t'ar-pa and the Dalai-Lama's courtier Dag-pa Rab-'byams.[1] I have rather expatiated on this episode, sometimes translating the *MBTJ* verbatim, because I think that seldom the cause of religious tolerance has been defended with such noble and simple words. These speeches reveal the statemanslike outlook of P'o-lha-nas far more than all the long-winded phrases of praise of his biographer.

The matter rested at this point, and no sequence was given to it by the Chinese court. But the Chinese envoy (Oci or Bandi), on the point of leaving for China, had something else to say to the council when they accompanied him to his palankeen. He spoke very seriously to them. They should remember that they were the representatives of the Dalai-Lama and held a great responsibility. He had noticed that they were in deep disagreement among themselves; but they should not send partisan and quarrelsome letters to the emperor (as apparently had been done). The order of His Majesty was that they should consult with each other; this order was to be obeyed. And should the thoughts of some ministers be disaffected, they must remember that "in the end the justice of the emperor, severe and glorious, not hastening on quick ways but difficult to avoid, would certainly overtake them". K'aṅ-c'en-nas replied for the council, profusing himself in assurances of loyalty and promises of good behaviour, after which the Chinese envoy left.[2] It had been a stern

---

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 218b-220a. Dag-pa Rab-'byams is apparently the Takpo Rangiamba (Dvags-po Rab-'byams-pa) of the Italian missionaries. See *MITN*, II, p. 264. Perhaps he is also identical with Dvags-po *dge-ba'i-bśes-gñen* Blo-bzaṅ-sbyin-pa, who is mentioned in 1733; *Life* of the 52nd K'ri Rin-po-c'e, f. 4a; *Life* of the 57th K'ri Rin-po-c'e, f. 3a. He died in 1748; *L7DL*, f. 354b.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 220b-221b.

and timely warning. The emperor Yung-chêng might be slack and inefficient in action, but he was no fool. He must have perceived at last that there was something rotten in the government of Tibet, and that the ministers were at loggerheads. The unity of the council must be preserved at all costs, unless the whole administration was to collapse. Let us not forget that the ministers were also provincial governors; disunity of the council meant disunity of the country. The only flaw in the emperor's action was that a warning not backed by a show of force was unlikely to produce any lasting consequence.

Nevertheless the message of the emperor had some effect. P'o-lha-nas discussed the matter with Ña-p'od-pa and the father of the Dalai-Lama, pointed out the evils and confusion of the divided government by a council which did not even care to function any more as such, described the blessings of undivided personal rule such as had prevailed at the times of the ancient monarchy, and proposed that by common consent full powers should be conferred on K'añ-c'en-nas, and that the other ministers should act as his subordinates. The father of the Dalai-Lama and Ña-p'od-pa assented, albeit not very willingly. The matter was then brought before the full council and approved, then it went to the Dalai-Lama for his sanction. The Dalai-Lama did not give an express approval, but still he granted, in the latter half of 1726, a seal and hand-sign for the new office.[1] It seems that Chinese ratification was sought for this arrangement, because we know that on *chia-shên*/XII = January 18th, 1727, the emperor granted the seal of office to the Prime Minister (*tsung-li*) for Tibetan affairs Beise K'ang-ch'i-nai.[2]

But the new system did not work well. K'añ-c'en-nas, either for personal reasons or because of excessive subservience to the Chinese, began at once oppressing the rÑiñ-ma-pa in various ways; of course this made him at once extremely unpopular. Not even his most trusty supporter obeyed him in this matter. P'o-lha-nas had gone to the warm springs of 'Ol-k'a sTag-rtse. While staying there, a lady of the family of Rig-'dsin gTer-c'en C'os-kyi-rgyal-po[3] came there. As people were afraid of showing her due honour

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 222a-223a; *L7DL*, f 119b.

[2] *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 51, f. 34a-b.

[3] This rÑiñ-ma-pa saint lived in the 14th century and was the ancestor of the hereditary abbots of the rÑiñ-ma-pa monastery of sMin-grol-gliñ. Ferrari, p. 132 n. 319.

because of the stern edicts against the rÑiṅ-ma-pa, P'o-lha-nas himself went as the first to offer her gifts and to hear her spiritual teaching. She prophesied the ruin of K'aṅ-c'en-nas because of his persecution of the rÑiṅ-ma-pa, and tried to induce P'o-lha-nas to join her sect; of course he refused and reasserted his dGe-lugs-pa faith.[1] But the accident showed that his rÑiṅ-ma-pa sympathies were very deep, if they compelled him to commit an imprudence of this sort in a moment which he knew to be critical.

P'o-lha-nas returned to Lhasa passing through bSam-yas, where he met the father of the Dalai-Lama; and in Lhasa he spent some uneventful time, amidst of much sport and festivities.[2] But this apparent calm ill concealed the growing estrangement between the two factions in the council and the hopeless rift between the ministers. They quarreled on the smallest trifle and were always on the alert against each other, while the affairs of the country went from bad to worse. P'o-lha-nas made another attempt. He sent an attendant of his to Ña-p'od-pa, the most influential man of the opposite party. The messenger told the minister that the main obstacle to the re-establishment of concord in the council was the malignant hostility of Lum-pa-nas towards K'aṅ-c'en-nas and P'o-lha-nas, and that it was rumoured that he intended to kill them both. He begged Ña-p'od-pa to think of the consequences for the country. Then P'o-lha-nas himself went to the father of the Dalai-Lama and spoke with him more or less on the same lines. The slight hopes raised by these demarches soon faded away, and the tension grew stronger every day.[3]

At last P'o-lha-nas could not hold out any more. He wrote a letter to the Dalai-Lama, in which he recounted all his and his ancestor's merits towards the Church, expressed his exasperation at being thwarted and misinterpreted in every steep he took and every word he said, submitted that he was in immediate danger of murder, and concluded by expressing the wish to retire from his ministership; to this purpose he intended to write a letter to the emperor, and begged the Dalai-Lama's support. Not content with this, he went personally to the Dalai-Lama and repeated verbally his request. But the Dalai-Lama replied that the emperor was unlikely to accept his resignation, and that he must remain at his post.

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 223a-225b.
[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 227a-228b.
[3] *MBTJ*, ff. 230b-231b.

P'o-lha-nas had no choice but to yield and to carry on with his ungrateful work. He tried then to talk the matter over with K'añ-c'en-nas; he said to him that they both were attempting to do their best for country and religion, but were hindered at every step by some officials of the Dalai-Lama and by Lum-pa-nas; the situation badly needed some remedy. But K'añ-c'en-nas was a proud and haughty man, very conscious of his high position and prone to despise all his associates; this trait of his character was observed even by the Chinese, as we shall see later. He now replied that he was doing his duty to the Dalai-Lama and to the emperor, and that he feared nobody, and less than anybody Lum-pa-nas, whom "he could destroy by a mere slap of his hand". This was either meaningless braggadocio or utter misunderstanding of the situation. Still, on two occasions more P'o-lha-nas insisted on his point of view, but K'añ-c'en-nas coldly thanked him and tried again to show him the complete solidity of his position.[1] At last P'o-lha-nas in despair gave him up. He still belonged to his party, and of course his loyalty remained unimpaired; but K'añ-c'en-nas's senseless persecution of the rÑiń-ma-pa, and now his blind pride and obstinacy, had caused an estrangement between the two old comrades.

Because of a lucky coincidence (as it turned out to be), at that time (spring of 1727) P'o-lha-nas's wife was taken ill and her recovery was despaired of. Her husband took leave from the council and in a great hurry rode to P'o-lha. There, in order to obtain the recovery of his wife, he offered great gifts to the monasteries and caused the religious texts to be read out, even rÑiń-ma-pa texts. At the end of the ceremonies he received a letter from the Yoṅs-'dsin-c'en-po (spiritual teacher of the Dalai-Lama), advising him, under the form of a prophecy, not to be present at Lhasa during the 6th Hor month (July-August) and not to leave his elder son there,[2] because there was danger ahead. P'o-lha-nas at once sent for his son and informed also his most trusted friends in Lhasa of the warning: *mda'-dpon* Blo-bzań-dar-rgyas, the magistrate Bon-

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 231a-234a.

[2] His full name was 'Gur-med-ye-śes-ts'e-brtan; it occurs in a contemporary series of woodcut *taṅkas* from sNar-t'ań, which was prepared at his expenses (Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 534). In the Tibetan texts this all too long name is regularly shortened into Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan. The Chinese instead knew him under the name of 'Gyur-med-ts'e-brtan (Chu-êrh-mo-t'ê-ts'ê-pu-têng 珠爾默特策卜登)

rigs Ṅag-dbaṅ-bde-c'en and *rtsis-dpon* Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal, requesting them to warn K'aṅ-c'en-nas. Then he posted sentries on the road to Lhasa some miles from P'o-lha to avoid any surprise, and remained in an uneasy expectation, hardly relieved by the obscure warnings and gloomy supernatural visions of the rÑiṅ-ma-pa seers.[1]

---

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 234b-238a.

CHAPTER EIGHT

K'AN-C'EN-NAS'S MURDER AND P'O-LHA-NAS'S PREPARATIONS FOR WAR [1]

About the middle of the year 1727, the situation in Tibet was one of unbearable strain, and everything pointed to an imminent explosion. The best characteristic of the situation is given in a memorial presented to the emperor by the Chinese envoy Oci on his return to Peking. According to Oci there were dangerous personal feuds going on between the ministers. The Dalai-Lama was too young and depended on his father. K'añ-c'en-nas was a man of merit, but conceited and overbearing, and therefore hated by all. Ña-p'od-pa was treacherous, and so was Lum-pa-nas, who had tied to his interests the father of the Dalai-Lama by giving him two of his daughters in marriage.[2] sByar-ra-ba was a non-entity. Oci proposed therefore to deprive Ña-p'od-pa of his associates by dismissing Lum-pa-nas and sByar-ra-ba, and to admonish severely the Dalai-Lama, K'añ-c'en-nas and Ña-p'od-pa, telling them that they must absolutely pull together.—It seems that the emperor did not sanction the dismissal of Lum-pa-nas and sByar-ra-ba; the text is not quite clear on this pont. He granted instead a title and some presents to the maternal uncle of the Dalai-Lama, sKu-mdun sÑags-rams-pa bSam-gtan-rgyal-mts'an, and despatched the sub-chancellor of the grand Secretariat Señ-ge (Sêng-ko 僧格) and the brigadier-general Mala 馬喇 [3] to Tibet. They were the bearers of a rescript ordering the council to cooperate with them for the good administration of the country; but is seems that they were not empowered to take definite measures.[4]

[1] As the Chinese texts for this period are particularly important and copious, I shall give in the Appendix the full translation of some of them which present a particular interest. Indications in the footnotes like Doc. I refer to this Appendix.

[2] This statement is supported by Fr. Cassiano Beligatti, *MITN*, IV, p. 121.

[3] Mala (1673-1735) was a Manchu officer of the Plain Yellow Banner and belonged to the Fuca clan. His biography in *Man-chou-ming-ch'ên-chuan*, ch. 25, f. 39a-40b; *Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan*, ch. 11, ff. 35b-36a; *Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien lei-chêng*, ch. 62, ff. 38a-39a.

[4] Doc. I Cfr. *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, ch. 13a, f. 7a.

Oci's noteworthy memorial saw things clearly, but did not go deep enough. It was not merely a question of personal feuds between the ministers. Ña-p'od-pa and his associates were, as already hinted elsewhere, the representatives of the old aristocratic party, strongly nationalist and traditionally anti-Chinese; they also still had some leanings towards the Dsungars, in spite of the bitter experience of 1717-1720. K'añ-c'en-nas and P'o-lha-nas represented that part of the nobility which had rallied wholeheartedly to Lajang Khan first and to the Chinese afterwards; they saw the safety and welfare of Tibet in the strong protection which only the Chinese empire, then the mightiest in Asia, could afford. The father of the Dalai-Lama had rallied to the nationalist party, but he stood alone among the clergy. The old lama party was for the moment inoperative; the monks as a body followed the Dalai-Lama and nobody else; as the sovereignty and legitimacy of the Seventh Dalai-Lama was by now unquestioned even by the old aristocracy, the lamas took no part in the conflict. As we shall see, they only tried several times to stop the civil war, which ruined the country and the estates of the church.

A strange contrast with the clear and acute memorial is presented by the inept and inconclusive orders passed by the emperor. They implied of course an approval of K'añ-c'en-nas's policy, and so far they were appropriate to the situation. But it was useless to try to boost up the uncle of the Dalai-Lama, whose interests lay exclusively in liturgy and ritualism and who never played a part in politics. It was worse than useless to send out a mission with undefined powers and without a single soldier at their disposal to enforce their authority. It was a half-measure, and like all half-measures it spelt disaster. The whole mission was foredoomed to failure; however, it could not even reach the stage of practical execution. It started so late or travelled so slowly, that after five months it had barely reached the border of Tibet, when the civil war broke out.

Still, it was the unlucky mission of Señ-ge and Mala which set the stone rolling. We remember that Dag-pa Rab-'byams and Ts'ul-k'rims-t'ar-pa had been sent to Peking by the council in the previous year. The two envoys, on their back way to Tibet, sent ahead a letter informing the Tibetan council that the emperor had given his approval to K'añ-c'en-nas and his policy and was sending him a document (*śe-t'am*), and that two Chinese *ta-ch'ên* with a

proper staff and retinue were coming to Lhasa, being entrusted with full powers to supervise the administration of Tibet. Lum-pa-nas and his associates boiled over with anger at this piece of news. It meant that the emperor was backing K'añ-c'en-nas to the full; the arrival of the Chinese mission at Lhasa, even if as usual without troops, would discourage their partisans and proportionately increase the following of K'añ-c'en-pas. It was decided to strike at once, before the Chinese arrived. Lum-pa-nas's hand was forced; and this fact explains the hurry and disorder of the measures of the rebels. In a last meeting the particulars of the action were decided, then the plot was carried out.[1]

On 18/VI = August 5th, 1727 the council was holding a sitting in the Bla-brañ, the premises of the treasury office adjoining the main temple of Lhasa (Ra-sa 'P'rul-snañ). K'añ-c'en-nas was completely unaware of the impending doom; he smiled and jested with the other members. At a certain moment an attendant handed him a long letter; while he was reading it, a man called Blo-bzañ-don-yod went behind him and seized him by the ornaments of his hair. All the other ministers drew their knives and attached K'añ-c'en-nas, while their retainers entered from outside with drawn swords. K'añ-c'en-nas, pierced by hundred of thrusts, fell down; he still could drag himself towards the gate, but before he reached it, he was finished off. His attackers continued hacking at his body, so that many wounded each other in their eagerness to strike. K'añ-c'en-nas's two chief attendants too were killed, the others bound and thrown into prison.[2]

On the next day K'añ-c'en-nas's wife and her sister were arrested in the Rab-brtan-dpal-'byor palace and butchered in cold blood. Two men were sent to kill the two governors of the Nag-c'u region; the task was duly carried out. The same attention was shown to P'o-lha-nas: sKyid-pa-t'añ-pa, bKra-śis-dpal-ra-ba, sKya-k'añ-pa and other were sent with some soldiers towards P'o-lha, to kill its master; we shall see later the result of their attempt. The officials of P'o-

[1] *MBTJ*, f. 239a-b.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 239-240b; *A2PC*, f. 363a (which has the erroneous date 18/VII); *K. Ann.*, p. 443 (transl. p. 51); *Loñ ba'i dmigs bu*, p. 180; *sTag-luñ*, f. 396; Doc. II. The account and the date of the event are confirmed by the missionaries: A. Giorgi, *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, p. 338; Francesco Orazio della Penna, in *MITN*, III, p. 63; letter of Gioacchino da S. Anatolia, dated Lhasa, July 20th, 1731, in *MITN*, I, p. 139. This last document adds the interesting information that K'añ-c'en-nas "was killed by the order of the Grand Lama".

lha-nas in Lhasa were arrested and imprisoned. Even the great prayer-wheel which he had set up in the market-square of Lhasa was destroyed. Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal, the author of the *MBTJ*, was not disturbed, which he attributes to his devotion to religious practices. As soon as K'aṅ-c'en-nas was killed, the signal for revolt had been given in dBus, Koṅ-po and other provinces. The troops of these regions gathered and "started northwards to attack the remnants of the Mongols" in 'Dam.[1]

Of the events in Lhasa during the eleven months, which lapsed before P'o-lha-nas took the city, we know very little. If we are to believe the *L7DL*, the Dalai-Lama was much grieved by the event. He at once informed the Paṇ-c'en, and then took steps to relieve the sufferings of the people caused by the revolt. But "before the emperor's order came", that was before the arrival of Seṅ-ge and Mala, the war broke out and there was no decisive result till the 5th month of the next year. The remarkable thing is that, notwithstanding the outbreak of civil war, the Chinese mission succeeded in reaching Lhasa without being opposed by the new rulers; they were received and presumably protected by the Dalai-Lama,[2] and stayed undisturbed in Lhasa during the whole war. Some official of the mission could even cross the theatre of the war and reach bKra-śis-lhun-po, where 6/X = c. November 18th they laid before the Paṇ-c'en the complimentary presents of the emperor.[3] But the political influence of the mission was nil. The only thing on record is that soon after the news of the outbreak reached Peking, the emperor issued an edict to the Dalai-Lama ordering him to allow the Ölöts and Kukunor men, who were in the retinue of K'aṅ-c'en-nas, to join Seṅ-ge and Mala and to retire to Kukunor; the Szechwan provincial tresury was to supply the funds for the movement and for a suitable reward to these men.[4] We do not know whether this order was carried out with regard to the re-

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 241a-242b.

[2] *L7DL*, f. 122a. Seṅ-ge is given the usual title of A-sa-han Am-pa (*aṣhan-i amban*). Mala is styled Me-riṅ Dsaṅ-gi, which is the Manchu title *meiren-i janggin*, corresponding to the Chinese *fu-tu-t'ung* 副都統, brigadier-general; Mayers, n. 381; Nieh Ch'ung-ch'i, p. 109. Mala's biography in the *Man-chou-ming-ch'ên-chuan*, ch. 25, f. 39b, says that Seṅ-ge and Mala "protected the Dalai-Lama in the Potala".

[3] *A2PC*, f. 364b.

[4] *Chi-wei*/IX = October 20th, 1727. *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 61, ff. 5b-6a.

tainers of K'aṅ-c'en-nas; but in any case the Chinese envoys did not move from Lhasa. In the summer the Dalai-Lama had his usual spell of residence at Se-ra. At the end of the year he received messengers from his old friend Caγan Danjin in Kukunor, presumably telling him of the intended Chinese expedition.[1] And this is about all; the *L7DL* skips over these months in one page only. It desires to convey the impression that the Dalai-Lama had no part whatsoever in the revolt, and even disapproved of it. We may readily believe this of the young Dalai-Lama, but not of his father, who was certainly privy to the plot.

Apart from this, we do not know the administrative steps taken by the new rulers to consolidate their power. Lhasa was ruled by a triumvirate composed of Ṅa-p'od-pa, Lum-pa-nas and sByar-ra-ba, and we know that they used new seals of their own.[2] But what really happened in Lhasa during their rule, is not told by anybody, not even by the Capuchins who resided there during the whole time.

At the time of K'aṅ-c'en-nas's murder, people at P'o-lha were busy with the preparations for a religious feast. The first warning was given by sKyid-sbug bSod-nams-dbaṅ-'dus, the elder brother of P'o-lha-nas's wife, who on his way back from Lhasa to his home had heard the news and had sent at once a messenger to P'o-lha. P'o-lha-nas, in order not to alarm his household, had the preparations carried out and held the feast regularly. But in the meantime he sent men to procure swift horses at Gyantse and bring them to P'o-lha. At midday he assembled his closest friends, told them of the news of the Lhasa outbreak and laid before them three different plans: either to quit the country and to take refuge with the Chinese at Hsining, or to summon together the fighting men of mṄa'-ris and gTsaṅ and to attack the rebels, or to occupy the towns and villages of Sa-dga', Gro-śod and mṄa'-ris (abandoning for the moment gTsaṅ) and to prepare their return from that secure base. The third alternative was chosen, and P'o-lha-nas himself undertook to travel to mṄa'-ris and to assemble an army there. As his wife was still too ill to travel with him, he arranged for a strong guard and defence of P'o-lha and gave

[1] *L7DL*, f. 122-a.

[2] *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 180 According to the *Ragguaglio* of Fr. Gioacchino da S. Anatolia, "the Grand Lama assumed the temporal government through a minister of state, whom he appointed regent of the kingdom"; *MITN*, III, p. 218. I doubt that there was a formal appointment by the Dalai-Lama.

orders to his officers to defend his castle at all costs for a month, after which time he would be back with the mN̈a'-ris troops.[1]

One of the first things P'o-lha-nas must have done, was to inform the Chinese emperor. It was a very important step to take, because it was to be feared that his enemies in Lhasa, holding the capital and with a Chinese mission in residence there, would try to get the emperor's approval for their deed; if this happened, it meant the end of P'o-lha-nas. It was a matter of who would be quicker, and P'o-lha-nas won the race. His report of the outbreak, announcing that he was taking the field in order to defend his home and to fight the rebels, and urgently requesting Chinese armed help, reached Peking in an amazingly short time, and was laid before the emperor on *kuei-yu*/VII = September 4th, less than a month after K'aṅ-c'en-nas's murder.[2]

P'o-lha-nas set out from P'o-lha with a few companions, and on the next day he arrived to Rin-c'en-rtse, where he began collecting weapons and soldiers. The Paṇ-c'en heard of his activity there, and as he wished to avoid bloodshed, he advised P'o-lha-nas to write to the Dalai-Lama, his father and the ministers, in order to obtain from them a promise of safety. P'o-lha-nas's reply to the Paṇ-c'en was an indictment of the ministers, an account of their misdeeds and an assertion of their unreliableness and of their firm decision to destroy him; he must therefore fight them to the last. At the same time he wrote a sort of manifesto in which he spoke of K'aṅ-c'en-nas's good deeds to the people, of his base murder and of the necessity of punishing his slayers. He caused this document to be read out in the full congregation of bKra-śis-lhun-po.[3]

Then he entrusted Rin-c'en-rtse to three loyal officers, again with orders to hold out for a month till he came back with more troops. He resumed his journey with his two sons and some sixty companions, and from the road he sent letters to the two *mda'-dpon* of gTsaṅ residing at Śel-dkar-rdsoṅ, lCaṅ-lo-can-pa[4] and bSam-grub-gliṅ-pa.

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 243b-245a; cf. *K. Ann.*, p. 443.

[2] Doc. II.

[3] *MBTJ*, ff. 245b-247a.

[4] The lCaṅ-lo-can-pa, one of the foremost families of gTsaṅ, had an hereditary call for the army career. lCaṅ-lo-can-pa P'un-ts'ogs-dbaṅ-p'yug is mentioned in 1701 (*Life of the Sixth Dalai-Lama*, f. 494b) and 1707 (*A2PC*, ff. 240b-241a); he was killed by the Dsungars in 1717 (*MBTJ*, f. 157a). He was probably the father of lCaṅ-lo-can-pa A-jig, the incumbent of the title at the time of the civil war, who appears for the first time as gTsaṅ

At the same time he wrote to the third *mda'-dpon* Nu-ma-ba, then in Ńam-riṅs, requesting from him, as from an old friend of K'aṅ-c'en-nas, active collaboration. He was to leave for Sa-dga' and to inform its governor Uičing Noyan [1] of the events; then he was to visit dGa'-bži-ba Ts'e-brtan-bkra-śis, the elder brother of K'aṅ-c'en-nas and deputy-governor of mŃa'-ris, and to take counsel with him; then they were to concentrate their forces in Sa-dga'. But Nu-ma-ba, as was to be expected from his earlier attitude, did not reply at all and prepared secretly for hostilities. lCaṅ-lo-can-pa, instead, joined P'o-lha-nas and pledged his loyalty to him. Then P'o-lha-nas passed through sPo-roṅ, where he won over the local chieftain. Continuing his march, he fell upon and confiscated 80 yaks and other cattle belonging to sByar-ra-ba, overcoming the resistance of the herdsmen. The same was done with a score of mules carrying a load of silver ingots belonging to Ńa-p'od-pa, which were arriving from Koṅ-po. The muleteers were sent to prison in gÑa'-naṅ and sKyid-groṅ. The governor of rDsoṅ-dga' [2] was arrested and imprisoned in mŃa'-ris. Then the rTa-mc'og-k'a-'bab (gTsaṅ-po) was crossed. From the other bank P'o-lha-nas sent a message to Uičing Noyan, the governor of Sa-dga', announcing his arrival. Uičing was at first uncertain about P'o-lha-nas's intentions, and suspected that he had been sent against him by the ministers. He therefore gathered some troops in order to be ready for all events. But he was soon reassured. Uičing received P'o-lha-nas friendly and swore loyalty to him. With the winning of Sa-dga', the first part of Po'-lha-nas's task was completed.[3]

Of common accord, P'o-lha-nas and Uičing Noyan sent a messenger to dGa'-bži-ba in mŃa'-ris. He carried a long letter, which gave a full account of the latest events; we learn from it among other things, that two officers sent with 300 men to kill P'o-lha-nas had arrived at Gyantse, but had not been able to take P'o-lha and had returned to Lhasa (on this see later); and that the secretary

mda'-dpon in 1726 (*L7DL*, f. 118a; and cf. *Hsi-yü t'ung-wên-chih*, ch. 24, f. 11a-b). In 1750 he was exiled to China as a follower of "king" 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal (*Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 401, f. 21a-b).

[1] With his full name: Uičing P'un-ts'ogs-bde-legs; *A2PC*, f. 358b. Called Uičing Dargan in *L7DL*, f. 120a.

[2] Or lJoṅs-dga'; Tsonka or Jongkha of the maps, south of Sa-dga' on the Nepalese border. Wylie, pp. 63-64 and n. 119.

[3] *MBTJ*, ff. 248a-252a.

(*gser-yig-pa*) of the Dalai-Lama, Legs-gliṅ Ṅag-dbaṅ-'jam-dpal, and the ministers of dBus and Koṅ-po had assembled, had forged letters of the Dalai-Lama and had caused them to be proclaimed by the public criers in gTsaṅ; no hint as to their contents is given. The letter then explained that P'o-lha-nas's purpose was to requit the benefits once showered upon him by K'aṅ-c'en-nas and to hinder a conquest of mṄa'-ris and gTsaṅ by Lum-pa-nas. To this end he had gathered his followers and was coming to get the help of dGa'-bži-ba. He begged the governor to join him with the troops of Ru-t'og and of sGar-t'og (Gartok), which would then march directly towards gTsaṅ; they were certain to get Chinese help sooner or later. He gave a list of the regions and chiefs who had offered their support, and ended expressing his firm decision to conquer or to die, and calling upon dGa'-bži-ba to avenge his murdered brother. By a great effort the messenger reached sGar-t'og in 6 days. dGa'-bži-ba at once agreed with P'o-lha-nas's proposals and ranged himself wholeheartedly on his side. The all-important support of Western Tibet was thus secured, and the gTsaṅ-mṄa'-ris coalition of 1719-1720 was revived.[1]

P'o-lha-nas personally enjoyed much popularity in the region, because since his birth he had been regarded as the incarnation of the Mongol lama dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbaṅ who had conquered mṄa'-ris for Tibet in 1678-1683. Partly on account of this, and partly because of the desire to avenge K'aṅ-c'en-nas's death, the call to arms met with a hearty response in mṄa'-ris. Only the abbot of mT'o-ldiṅ exerted his influence against the enlistments for the mṄa'-ris army; but shortly afterwards he was killed by magic (*draṅ-sroṅ-gi-gnod-pas*, Sanskrit *ṛṣibādhā*). dGa'-bži-ba organized also the defence of the mṄa'-ris against a possible attack by the Dsungars, by leaving there a sufficient covering force. Then he set in march his troops, which numbered 2000 horsemen.[2] A good equipment for the army (horses, weapons etc.) was secured form the monasteries of the region. P'o-lha-nas appointed Uičing Noyan's brother No-no Don-ldan and Ts'a-roṅ-pa to look to the commissariat arrangements and the amenities for the advancing mṄa'-ris troops, such as tea (*ja-sig*) and tobacco (*t'a-mi-k'a koṭa*). He himself, without waiting for them, on the 17/VII = September 2nd, 1727, only a month after the

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 252a-255a.

[2] *MBTJ*, f. 255b. The king of Ladakh too contributed some auxiliary troops; *K. Ann.*, p. 443 (transl. p. 51). Cf. also *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, ch. 13a, f. 7b.

murder of K'aṅ-c'en-nas, started on his return journey to gTsaṅ.[1]

P'o-lha-nas had done a good piece of work in the short time. His outstanding organizing talent had much profited by the experience of 1719/20, and he had been able to forestall his enemys and to take the field before they had the time to organize efficiently the forces of dBus and Koṅ-po. This advantage weighed heavily on the final outcome of the civil war. It was but a fitting recognition of his merits that P'o-lha-nas, hitherto usually called by the title of dGuṅ-blon Taiji, began to be famous in Tibet and all neighbouring countries by the name of Mi-dbaṅ, ruler of men, with which he afterwards passed to history.[2]

---

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 255b-256a.

[2] *MBTJ*, f. 257a.

CHAPTER NINE

THE CIVIL WAR OF 1727-1728

P'o-lha-nas was marching back to gTsaṅ, receiving on his way pledges of support from various local lamas (Śaṅs-pa Ras-c'en etc.). He encamped at Lu-ma-dgo-dmar, where he decided, as an auspicious deed of propitiation for victory, to restore the decayed stupa of Bya-ruṅ K'a-śor [1] in Nepal. He issued orders that the revenue of K'yuṅ-rdsoṅ-dkar-po, sKyid-groṅ and Sa-dga' be set aside for this purpose, and deputed two officials for the task, which was to be finished by the 11th month of the same year. Likewise, he caused gifts to be offered and the Canon to be read at 'P'el-rgyas-gliṅ in rDsoṅ-dga'.[2] These measures, besides being dictated by the deeply religious nature of P'o-lha-nas, answered also the purpose of ingratiating the lamas and drawing them to his party.

His journey continued till Lha-rtse-rdsoṅ, while small bands of soldiers continued to join him on the route. There he received an encouraging message from the abbot of Sa-skya. Moreover, a revered ascetic called A-jo Bla-ma, who resided in the cave of Kom-kre, issued a widely-circulated prophecy, in which he invited people to refrain from going to dBus for trading purposes and to refuse paying taxes to the Lhasa government, because a hero was coming to overthrow the sinners at Lhasa. It was a means of propaganda which hit deeply the economic base of the power of the triumvirate, and could not fail to be effective. Then P'o-lha-nas and his army passed through P'un-ts'ogs-gliṅ and continued their march towards gTsaṅ.[3]

In the meantime the officers sent by the ministers to eliminate P'o-lha-nas, viz. sKyid-pa-t'aṅ-pa, sKya-k'aṅ-pa etc., arrived from the Dol region with 300 men. They attacked P'o-lha with the utmost determination during five days, but were repulsed with losses by the small garrison of about 60 men.[4] sKyid-pa-t'aṅ-pa had to

---

[1] Nepalese: Bodh Nath; two miles to the north-east of Kathmandu; Waddell, Notes on the Ma-gu-ta or Charung Khashar stupa, in *PASB*, 1892, pp. 186-189. Id., *Buddhism of Tibet* pp. 315-317.

[2] Perhaps the monastery in rDsoṅ-dga'-rdsoṅ itself; Wylie, p. 64 and n. 121.

[3] *MBTJ*, ff. 257b-259b.

[4] *MBTJ*, ff. 259b-260a.

retreat; but he found his chance elsewhere: by a surprise coup he got possession of Gyantse. The Gyantse commandant Zur-k'añ-nas and his officers with about 100 men escaped to the fort of Shigatse. This fort was soon placed in a state of defence under the supervision of two officers sent for this purpose by P'o-lha-nas.[1] In the meantime, the peasants of gTsañ, encouraged by the retreat of sKyid-pa-t'añ-pa, took arms under the lead of *žal-ño* Kun-bzañ, and besieged the Lhasa troops in Gyantse; but of course this ill-armed rabble was unable to take the fort.

With great sorrow the Paṇ-c'en saw his beloved gTsañ on the verge of a ruinous war, and he began that mediating activity by which he was so conspicuous throughout the war. He sent a messenger to Lhasa with a letter to the Dalai-Lama begging him to order the ministers to lay down arms, and another letter to the triumvirate asking them to think of the welfare of the country and to avoid an armed conflict. Another messenger (dKa'-c'en bKra-śis) was sent to P'o-lha-nas to the same purpose, but as the adressee was then at Rin-c'en-rtse, the letter could not be handed over.[2] On the top all these worries, in the southern districts an epidemic of smallpox was raging, and its soon began to spread even to bKra-śis-lhun-po.[3]

The Paṇ-c'en's efforts at peacemaking yielded no fruit, and soon it was heard that a strong army from dBus, Dvags-po, Koñ-po and Mongol tribes, commanded by Lum-pa-nas and sByar-ra-ba, was advancing to the relief of Gyantse. The noblemen of Northern gTsañ gathered together in order to stop this army and to cover the blockade of Gyantse; they built for this purpose some strong stockades on the K'a-ro-la, blocking the main Lhasa-Gyantse route. The Lhasa army attacked this fortified position, and the struggle lasted for a long time with losses on both sides. At last the ammunition of the gTsañ troops gave out, the pass was forced and the defenders scattered each to his home. The nobles of Ñañ (P'o-lha-nas's own country), who were encamped at the foot of the fort of Gyantse, had to raise the blockade and to retreat. They sent a message to P'o-lha-nas, informing him of the defeat and urgently requesting the help of the mÑa'-ris troops; only by a forced march

[1] *A2PC*, f. 363a.

[2] This is most probably identical with the event referred to above (p. 118). The sequence of the events in the *MBTJ* and the *A2PC* is for once diverging.

[3] *A2PC*, f. 363b.

they could arrive in time.[1] But before he could arrive, the dBus army reached Gyantse, raised its siege and advanced as far as rNam-nub-gliṅ.[2]

At this time *žal-ṅo* Kun-bzaṅ intercepted a letter sent by the gTsaṅ *mda'-dpon* Nu-ma-ba to the Dalai-Lama's father in Lhasa; it impressed upon him the necessity of conquering gTsaṅ before P'o-lha-nas's relieving army from mÑa'-ris and the Mongol chieftains of 'Dam could join hands and crush the Lhasa troops. P'o-lha-nas was much incensed at the treachery of Nu-ma-ba, who had been a protegee of K'aṅ-c'en-nas, had married his sister and had been friend with P'o-lha-nas since Lajang Khan's times. He detailed his loyal officer bsTan-'dsin-dgos-skyes with some ten men, to kill Nu-ma-ba. With the support of 30 men from Rin-c'en-rtse, he was to entice Nu-ma-ba to the fort of Shigatse for consultation; there he was to cut him down. The task was duly executed. Nu-ma-ba was lured to Shigatse, arrested, bound and executed by throwing him down from the battlements of the fort. P'o-lha-nas thus stamped out treachery in his ranks and effectively cowed any possible opposition to his rule in gTsaṅ.[3]

When P'o-lha-nas got intelligence of the advance of the Lhasa army against him, he left Lha-rtse and by forced marches arrived at a meadow called Le-ne-k'a, in the neighbourhood of Shigatse, where he encamped. In view of the impending battle, he summoned his still ailing wife form P'o-lha and sent her first to sNar-t'aṅ and then to a remote spot on the Tibetan-Nepalese border. Then by a well-calculated act of mercy he pardoned and set free Zur-k'aṅ-nas and two other dBus noblemen who had been imprisoned at Shigatse; they were simply restricted in their movements to bKra-śis-lhun-po and some neighbouring places. After these measures of internal security, P'o-lha-nas again turned his attention to the war. The *mda'-dpon* lCaṅ-lo-can-pa with 300 men advanced from Pa-snam-rdsoṅ by the road on the southern bank of the Ñaṅ-c'u, while P'o-lha-nas himself with the main forces advanced by the path on the northern bank. The dBus army, led by Lum-pa-nas and sByar-ra-ba, after the relief of Gyantse had passed through 'Broṅ-dkar-rtse (Drongtse on the Ñaṅ-c'u), continuing its advance; and after a short

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 260a-261a.
[2] *A2PC*, f. 363b.
[3] *MBTJ*, ff. 261a-263a.

time the two adversaries cam within sight of each other at 'Bras-k'ud.[1]

It was here that Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal joined the Lhasa army. He had been sent to the Tengri-nor to lay hold of the soldiers of K'aṅ-c'en-nas. The Mongol chiefs of 'Dam had given him some men, with whom he marched to the war theatre in gTsaṅ. At 'Bras-k'ud he was commander (*ru-dpon*) of the right wing.[2]

A battle seemed impending. The Lhasa army was ascending a hill in order to draw itself up near the summit. P'o-lha-nas planned to send lCaṅ-lo-can-pa with some swivel guns [3] to ascend a hill on the enemy's back to open fire by surprise, while his main forces occupied the houses in the neighbourhood; his plan was to compel the enemy to retreat without hand-to-hand fighting. But before he could issue his orders, Uičing Noyan, P'o-lha-nas's younger brother bsTan-'dsin and some other officers, without waiting for support, swept forward against the enemy. Lum-pa-nas's division advancing in dispersed order ascended the hill. When it was on the top, and while the mÑa'-ris and gTsaṅ troops were still advancing in a disordered fashion, the enemy suddenly effected his concentration and charged down on P'o-lha-nas, who had remained with a score of companions only. The charge was valiantly withstood and thrown back, with the loss of five men. The fighting was then broken, off, and the two armies encamped at a short distance from each other.[4]

In the meantime the Paṇ-c'en had sent his *mgron-gñer* Sa-k'ud-pa [5] to the leaders of the Lhasa troops, in a last attempt to avoid the slaughter of a battle. The messenger was coldly received

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 263a-264b. I cannot positively identify 'Bras-k'ud, but it must be sought for between Drongtse and Panam-dsong; it cannot therefore have anything to do with the 'Bras-k'ud monastery near Samada to the south of Gyantse, described by G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, I, pp. 122-132.

[2] *sTag-luṅ*, f. 396b.

[3] *Me'i-mda'-c'en*. They were long-barrelled small-bore weapons. In 1904 they were still in use and played a great part in the siege of the British mission at Gyantse. Waddell calls them by the Anglo-Indian name *jingal* (on which see Yule & Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, London 1886, p. 285, s.v. *gingall*). It was not cannon; that is called in the *MBTJ me-skyogs*.

[4] *MBTJ*, ff. 264b-265a.

[5] This official of the Paṇ-c'en had already been employed in 1717 in the abortive negotiations with the Dsungars in 'Dam; *A2PC*, f. 2679b. His full name was Sa-k'ud-pa Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan (*A2PCcont.*, f. 20a) or Blo-bzaṅ-brtson-'grus (*A3PC*, f. 23b), the Sê-ku-nai 色固鼐 of the Chinese (*Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 115, f. 12b). He died in 1742; *L7DL*, f. 291a.

and was told to address himself to P'o-lha-nas, who had assembled troops to resist the forces of the lawful government. The envoy went accordingly to P'o-lha-nas and tried to convince him of the uselessness and evil results of fighting. P'o-lha-nas gave an uncompromising reply, repeating his usual reasons; the one important information we gather from his speech is that the Lhasa troops had by now succeeded in dispersing in all directions the 'Dam Mongols.[1]

On the next day the Lhasa troops advanced to the attack, some of them in the open country and some on the bank of the Ñaṅ-c'u. The melee became general, and soon P'o-lha-nas's troops were in full retreat on all sides. P'o-lha-nas with his small body-guard threw himself desperately against the advancing enemy, carrying aloft his banner. His charge succeeded in checking the enemy, and Lum-pa-nas and sByar-ra-ba retreated to their trenches.[2]

On the following day at dawn P'o-lha-nas's infantry moved up the hill, and his cavalry advanced in the plain. At sunrise his swivels opened fire and the troops charged. The sleeping camp of the Lhasa army was completely surprised and a scene of indescribable confusion ensued, as the men, most of them naked or only partly armed, ran about without being able to offer serious resistance. Also the Lhasa troops on the hill-top were put to flight, all their commanders being slain or taken. P'o-lha-nas supported the action of his troops by the fire of his swivel guns from a hillock nearby. Lum-pa-nas and sByar-ra-ba, surprised in their sleep like everybody else, had to throw themselves in the ditch of the camp, to escape the first rush of the charge. When they were able to come out, they found their army in dissolution, but for a small nucleus still intact, the Mongol and Turk contingents. By an enormous bribe the ministers succeeded in persuading these crack troops to move to the counter-attack. The troops of P'o-lha-nas had been disorganized by their own victory, and the counterstroke took them completely by surprise; some of them fled, some quitted the Lhasa camp and retreated to the hill, where they offered resistance. P'o-lha-nas, who was already leaving the field of what he believed to be his victory, tried to turn back and to resume the fight, but it was a hopeless undertaking and he was held back by his officers. The fight was over; nothing remained for P'o-lha-nas, but to collect

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 265a-266a; *A2PC*, ff. 363b-364a.
[2] *MBTJ*, ff 266a-267b.

the remnants of his troops and to flee in the direction of Sa-dga'. The Lhasa troops followed him till sBel-sñon-na-k'a near Shigatse. It makes rather comical reading when the *MBTJ* tells us that P'o-lha-nas, thinking of the unbearable miseries wrought by the foreign troops on the innocent peasants, considered that, though he had taken Shigatse and sPa-nam-rdsoñ, a long protracted fighting in the neighbourhood would ruin the peasantry, and therefore decided to go back to Sa-dga' and to try another effort from there. Sober history cannot accept this distortion of truth. P'o-lha-nas had been well and truly beaten in the three days' battle of 'Bras-k'ud.[1]

Lum-pa-nas and sByar-ra-ba, encamped near Shigatse, tried to obtain an audience from the Paṇ-c'en, but were refused on account of the risk of smallpox contagion. But a great feast had to be offered to their troops, who also otherwise oppressed the countryside and insulted the dignity of the Paṇ-c'en. Then the army marched away westwards and reached Ňam-riṅs by easy stages. But the Lhasa troops too had been terribly battered in the battle and had no more stomach for fighting; pursuit of P'o-lha-nas in Sa-dga' was clearly out of question. All that could be done was to defend the approaches of gTsaṅ against a second offensive by P'o-lha-nas, which was to be expected sooner or later. The large and small forts of the region were garrisoned, and the great Lhasa army was demobilized and disbanded.[2] It was probably anticipated that the fighting was over for the season. To keep together Tibetan levies for along time has always been difficult, and this was clearly a task beyond the poor organizing qualities of the two ministers. As we can gather from the *A2PC*, the above events happened before the beginning of the 10th month (November-December) of 1727.[3]

The Dalai-Lama tried now to utilize what promised to be a long pause in the hostilities for an attempt to put an end to the civil war. He sent to the Paṇ-c'en his personal attendant (*gzims-'gag žal-ño*) together with three or four monks of Se-ra and 'Bras-spuṅs. They could not be received, but the Paṇ-c'en accepted the gifts and letters from the Dalai-Lama, his father and the ministers. As a consequence of this, the Paṇ-c'en again sent Sa-k'ud-pa to the

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 268a-269b; *A2PC*, f. 364a.

[2] Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal too, who was supposed to command the garrison of Shigatse, asked for leave and went to Lhasa; *sTag-luṅ*, f. 396b.

[3] *A2PC*, f. 364b; *MBTJ*, f. 269b.

two parties. We do not hear of the result of this mission, but it must have been negative.[1]

The efforts of the Paṇ-c'en had a curious repercussion in far-away Peking. It seems that the attempt of the Dalai-Lama was supported by his guests, the Chinese mission at Lhasa. P'o-lha-nas was much worried by this intervention, which could be interpreted by the populace as Chinese disinterest in the struggle going on in Tibet. Seṅ-ge and Mala were proving a nuisance to P'o-lha-nas. It seems that he wrote to the emperor, respectfully begging him to tell his envoys at Lhasa to keep quiet. On *chi-hai*/X = November 29th the emperor accordingly passed orders to send word, secretly and by trusted men, to Seṅ-ge and Mala, not to do anything capable to prejudice P'o-lha-nas's action.[2]

On the whole, P'o-lha-nas's situation was by no means rosy. gTsaṅ could not be left to the tender mercies of the enemy. The Lhasa troops had dispersed the monks of bKra-śis-lhun-po and insulted the Paṇ-c'en. The Gandhola and the monastery of sNar-t'aṅ had been destroyed. The country was oppressed by the invaders, and many sacred places had been defiled. Houses were burnt, women were raped; the general misery was great. There was, however, one great advantage, the hasty demobilization of the Lhasa army; if it could be exploited at once, it gave a fair chance of victory. It all depended on the ability of P'o-lha-nas to effect what Lum-pa-nas and sByar-ra-ba had not been able to do: to keep together his army. P'o-lha-nas spoke to his men, gave them the reasons for his retreat, recounted the atrocities of the enemy, and gave orders to prepare for resuming the advance. But he met with no response from the men. The troops of mÑa'-ris and gTsaṅ had not recovered from their defeat and hurried retreat; they were tired and yearned for demobilization. They begged P'o-lha-nas to retire for this year to mÑa'-ris; thence they could return later with a larger army and destroy Lum-pa-nas. If this were too difficult, P'o-lha-nas could still bribe the emperor (*ṗa-c'a*, Padshah) of Delhi to send him troops, and the job would be done in ten days. Besides, why not wait till the Chinese emperor had stamped out the revolt? And the men stuck to their point and absolutely refused to move. But P'o-lha-nas was not a Lum-pa-nas for giving in so

[1] *A2PC*, f. 364a.

[2] Doc. III.

quickly. He again appealed to the troops. To call in the Moghuls from India was unthinkable; it would mean the end of Buddhism in Tibet. If the men refused to march, they could go back to their homes. But he himself with some ten followers would march to Ńam-riṅs and fight; everybody was free to go home, to retreat to mŃa'-ris or to join him. This last appeal succeeded. P'o-lha-nas's men were carried away by his magnificent bravado, and with one voice they declared themselves ready to follow him; they realized also that to return to their homes in gTsaṅ meant to end in the prisons or before the executioners of Lum-pa-nas. P'o-lha-nas had won his point, and had won it in time. Only a short while after his arrival in Sa-dga', he was able to take again the field.[1]

The mŃa'-ris and gTsaṅ troops re-occupied Ńam-riṅs. The joy of the local population, freed at last from the marauders of the Lhasa army, was indescribable. P'o-lha-nas issued a manifesto to the whole country, announding his advance, threatening death to resisters and promising full protection to non-combatants; he expressed his intention to march as far as Koṅ-po. The skeleton garrisons left by Lum-pa-nas in the gTsaṅ forts were seized by panic when they heard of P'o-lha-nas's advance, and hastily and in disorder evacuated the fortresses. Some of them were slain by the peasants, some taken prisoners, some stripped of all their equipment, some made for their homes. Thus without striking a blow all gTsaṅ was free and the occupation army had vanished.[2]

Lum-pa-nas in the meantime had returned to Lhasa; but after some days there, he heard the news of P'o-lha-nas's renewed advance. He at once sent out orders for the concentrarion of the great army, which had given him the victory at 'Bras-k'ud. Most of the men had not yet reached their homes, or had only been there for a few days, when they received the summons; and soon the army gathered again, but probably weaker than before and rather discontented because of the failure of the demobilization. As soon as he was ready, Lum-pa-nas marched to gTsaṅ, to recover that region for the Lhasa triumvirate; he was accompanied by the maternal uncle of the Dalai-Lama A-ñen-bkra-śis, sByar-ra-ba and Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal. P'o-lha-nas, still at Ńam-riṅs, was prompted by a dream (does this mean secret intelligence?) to send Uičing Noyan

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 269b-271a.
[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 271a-272a.

with a division to occupy Gyantse before the enemy could reach it. By a swift march Uičing succeeded in forestalling Lum-pa-nas and occupied Gyantse. Two days later the Lhasa army arrived at a day's march from Gyantse; finding that they had arrived too late, they encamped at a village nearby, called rGyaṅ-mk'ar.[1] Meanwhile P'o-lha-nas had followed his lieutenant by easy stages. On 24/X = c. December 6th, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Shigatse. To him too audience with the Paṇ-c'en was denied because of the danger of smallpox; but the customary exchange of compliments took place. On the full moon day of the red half of the 10th month (December 12th), P'o-lha-nas arrived at Gyantse.[2]

There were small brushes betweeen the two armies every day, and Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal scoured the country with about 80 men to collect provisions, sustaining several clashes with the men of P'o-lha-nas. There was, however no decisive battle. But time was working in favour of P'o-lha-nas. Public opinion, meaning that of the lamas, was now veering decidedly towards P'o-lha-nas, as shown by various prophecies of high incarnates predicting his victory; one of them could even foretell that even if in the 2nd month of the next year he could not be in Lhasa, by the 5th month he would have his wishes fulfilled.[3]

All the same, P'o-lha-nas felt bound to provoke a decision, because the prolonged stay of the mÑa'-ris and gTsaṅ troops near Gyantse added to the difficulties of finding a regular supply of food and water, and was also becoming an intolerable burden on the peasantry of the district, mostly P'o-lha-nas's tenants. He therefore sent his troops to attack the Lhasa division occupying the "northern hill". The hill was taken, and it afforded the possibility of bringing up P'o-lha-nas's swivel guns, which from there could hit the Lhasa camp. But the enemy had been warned by a traitor in P'o-lhas-nas's ranks, and on the next day all the fire arms in their camp were ready to muzzle the fire of P'o-lha-nas's swivels, while their cavalry was deploying outside the camp, out of reach of those primitive weapons. There was a clash of little account in itself, except for the fact that

[1] Probably near the rGyaṅ-dkar-goṅ-ma temple (simply Gompa in the maps) in the hills a short distance to the north-east of Gyantse, Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica* IV/I, pp. 60-61.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 272a-273a; *A2PC*, f. 364b; *sTag-luṅ*, f. 397a.

[3] *MBTJ*, ff. 273a-274a; *sTag-luṅ*, f. 397a.

dGa'-bži-ba was killed with a score of his men.[1] This timely death gave to P'o-lha-nas control of mÑa'-ris; and that large country remained firmly in his hands. On the same occasion T'on-pa Sri-gcod-ts'e-brtan went over to P'o-lha-nas, thus bringing him the support of a noble and very respected family.

About the same time Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal, who served in the Lhasa army under the orders of the prince of Guge, fell into the hands of the gTsaṅ troops; but P'o-lha-nas pardoned him and set him free. The situation was at a dead end. The undisciplined dBus troops were looting and destroying monasteries all over the country (dGa'-ldan-c'os-'p'el of K'ye-rag, Brag-dgon of gTsaṅ etc.); in the house of Nu-ma they destroyed a bKa'-'gyur; they employed the wooden blocks of the printing presses for making war equipment; they robbed the monks and beat them; in short, they behaved as perfect barbarians. There was no possibility of attacking their entrenchments near rGyaṅ-mk'ar and bKra-śis-sgaṅ (unidentified). On the other side, the fort of Gyantse repelled all attempts of the Lhasa troops to storm it, and inflicted heavy losses on them with its fire, so that the main camp of the Lhasa army had to be shifted to dGa'-ldan-c'os-'p'el.[2]

Once more the untiring Paṇ-c'en sent Sa-k'ud-nas to the Dalai-Lama and his father begging them to restrain their troops. Then he decided to travel to Sa-skya and to arrange for common action with the abbot of that famous monastery; but he was detained by his courtiers on account of the smallpox, and he had to send a messenger instead. After this, he tried once more to negotiate at least a suspension of arms, which would give relief to the miseries of war. But Lum-pa-nas, who was waiting for reinforcements, put off the messenger with evasive words, and P'o-lha-nas replied in the negative. Still the Paṇ-c'en's envoy continued his efforts, with the cooperation of a representative of the abbot of Sa-skya. Their proposals contemplated the end of the war and the disbandment of the armies. If this was impossible, then at least the contending parties should agree to suspend hostilities till the decision of the Chinese emperor arrived, and in the meantime the armies should be demobilized. The two parties seemed to agree in principle to the proposals, but could not agree on the oaths to be

[1] *MBTJ*, f. 274a-b; *sTag-luṅ*, f. 397b; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, f. 21b and *piao* 3, f. 17b.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 275a-276a and 277b.

taken and the guarantees to be given, and each of them feared a trap. So the war had to go on.[1]

In the meantime two of P'o-lha-nas's officers, Noyan Qośūči [2] and Dayan Taiji [3] operated in gTsaṅ-roṅ (i.e. in the Rongchu valley) against the dBus and Koṅ-po soldiery of bKra-śis-dpal-ra-ba with such a complete success, that the remnants of the Lhasa troops in that region had to evacuate it; they joined the main army at dGa'-ldan-c'os-'p'el. This arrival increased the famine in Lum-pa-nas's overcrowded camp. There was no means of fetching supplies from dBus; the neighbourhood had been scoured and devasted, and yielded nothing; the grass was consumed, and foraging parties found the countryside hostile and were set upon and destroyed by P'o-lha-nas's men. Lum-pa-nas thought of a way out of the impasse; he would fetch a big cannon (*me'i-skyogs*) from dBus and batter down the defences of Gyantse. And indeed, the unwieldy weapon was hauled with great difficulties all the way from Lhasa to dGa'-ldan-c'os-'p'el. After its arrival, the Lhasa army left the camp, and dragging the gun in its midst, drew up near bKra-śis-sgaṅ; then the gun opened fire. The troops of P'o-lha-nas were impressed by the roar of the explosions and grew anxious. But P'o-lha-nas reassured them and told them that his own experience of artillery in the Bhutanese and Dsungar wars showed that it was not much to be feared. In view of the imperfection of artillery in those places and times, he proved to be right; the gun did no harm whatsoever to P'o-lha-nas's troops, and the day ended with a fruitless cannonade. All the same, it is not easy to understand why the gun was employed in the open field and not against the fort of Gyantse, where it would have proved more effective. This affair is probably identical with the battle of rGyal-

[1] *A2PC*, f. 365a; *MBTJ*, ff. 277b-278b and 281a.

[2] Noyan Qośūči Rab-brtan, according to the Chinese texts, was a younger brother of P'o-lha-nas; *Hsi-yü T'ung-wên-chih*, ch. 24, f. 8a; *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, pref. ff. 35b-36a; *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 3, ff. 1b and 4b. He had led in the field the troops of the Qara-usu region and after the victory was appointed, upon the proposal of Mala, a first-class *jasak taiji*; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, f. 22a; *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 3, f. 1b (wrong date of 1734). He died in 1736; *L7DL*, f. 200a; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, ff. 21b-22a, ch. 18, f. 1a, *piao* 3, f. 18a.

[3] Ram-pa-ba Dayan Taiji dPal-ldan-dbaṅ-rgyal became gTsaṅ *mda'-dpon* perhaps as a successor of Nu-ma-ba; *Hsi-yü T'ung-wên-chih*, ch. 24, ff. 12b-13a. He died after 1744.

mk'ar mentioned in the *A2PC*, which took place a short while before the end of the 12th month.[1]

The Lhasa army, in order to lighten their crowded camp, sent some troops to brGya-groṅ, on the south-western-bank of the Ñaṅ-c'u. It was of little use; weeks and months went by, and the distress in their camp grew worse and worse. The camp reeked with the stench of the corpses of men who had died of hunger and want. The few horses left were unserviceable. Among the men there was much discontent against Lum-pa-nas. In the meanwhile the representatives of the Paṇ-c'en and of the abbot of Sa-skya were still continuing their efforts between the two camps. P'o-lha-nas at last thought that the unbelievable obstinacy of Lum-pa-nas was ruining the country and the army, which he could not wish to see destroyed; he therefore formed the plan to shift the theatre of operations northwards, to join the 'Dam Mongols and to march together down to Lhasa, to finish the war in a pitched battle. But only an armistice in gTsaṅ could give him the possiblility of carrying out this plan. He listened therefore to the entreaties of the two envoys, who after New Year's day (February 10th) of 1728 had redoubled their activity, and began an exchange of correspondence with Lum-pa-nas, to settle the conditions of the truce. The stipulations finally accepted were those first proposed by the two envoys: suspension of hostilities till the decision of the emperor arrived; remission of revenue for that year in the ravaged district of gTsaṅ; disbandment of both armies. The negotiations had been long and difficult; but the Dalai-Lama himself and his father exerted all their influence in favour of peace. Lum-pa-nas requested that the agreement should be confirmed by a meeting and on oath taken by the two leaders, and that the document should bear the palm-sign of the two envoys as a guarantee; P'o-lha-nas agreed. Then Lum-pa-nas began making difficulties about the form of the oath, about the powers of the envoys to sign etc., till the two envoys, confused and overawed, had to place their palm-signs on a document which was not exactly as it had been agreed. On the 3/III = c. April 11th, 1728, the armistice was signed admidst much rejoicing of the population. The war prisoners in the various fortresses of dBus and gTsaṅ were set free, and the state prisoners in Shigatse fort were allowed a gift of foodstuffs.[2]

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 278b-280a; *A2PC*, f. 365b.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 280a-282b; *A2PC*, ff. 366b-367a. *sTag-luṅ*, f. 397b. The

The insistence during the negotiations on the necessity of waiting for the emperor's decision was based on the fact that both sides had appealed to him, and that it must have been already known in Tibet that a Chinese special envoy, backed by a strong force, had been sent to quell the disturbance in Tibet. What was not yet known, was that the decision had already been taken in favour of P'o-lha-nas, as we shall see later.

The main condition in the agreement was the disbandment of the armies. This was faithfully carried out by the Lhasa triumvirate; their great army was demobilized and dispersed at once, although a skeleton force remained at sNaṅ-dkar-rtse [1] with Lum-pa-nas. But P'o-lha-nas had concluded the armistice only in order to put an end to the devastating and inconclusive warfare in gTsaṅ. He never intended to be bound by it longer than he could help. In this he was assisted by the behaviour of his troops. Quite to the contrary of what had happened in the previous autumn, they were now dissatisfied with the lame result of the campaign and felt themselves aggrieved; there was no talk of demobilization among them, nay, they yearned for the resumption of war. A pretext was soon found. Some of the conditions of the agreement had not been completely carried out by Lum-pa-nas. He had not recalled the commanders and garrisons which he had placed in several forts of gTsaṅ. There had also been an incident. During the truce one A-jo-dpal-dbaṅ of Nag-ts'aṅ had been accused of stirring up trouble; besides, some Lhasa officials arrested and killed a few gTsaṅ men in Nag-ts'aṅ, under the charge of being troublemakers and causes of disorder through their ignoring the conditions of the armistice. P'o-lha-nas declared this to be a breach of the truce; he stated

Capuchins in Lhasa heard only incorrect reports of this campaign. Thirteen years later Fr. Costantino da Loro wrote that the fort of Gyantse "is the fortress where in 1728 the present king of Tibet Mivagn-cugiab (Mi-dbaṅ *sku-žabs*) lay for six months with 30.000 soldiers besieged by the party of the Grand Lama, on whose orders the king had been killed. The abovementioned Mivagn-cugiab, who was then the fourth minister of state, in order to avenge the death of this king collected a quantity of soldiers and posted himself to the defence of the fortress, till there arrived in his favour a succour from the emperor of China, with which having put to flight the army of the Grand-Lama, he triumphantly entered Lhasa, where he was declared head of all Tibet by order of the emperor". Letter of October 15th, 1741 in *MITN*, II, pp. 68-69.

[1] Nangkartse-dsong on the western shore of lake Palti, cf. *sTag-luṅ*, loc. cit.

that, as he could not be sure that the enemy army was not going to make a surprise attack against him, he could no longer stay in gTsaṅ. The Lhasa authorities maintained that these events represented no infringement of the truce, that the agreement forbade continuation of fighting and that this had been carried out, but that the gTsaṅ people must, on their part, carry out the stipulation which forbade the maintainance of an army. P'o-lha-nas replied that the Lhasa government could not be relied upon; he could not remain silent, while everybody knew that he was going to be attacked. The drift of the events was now clearer; P'o-lha-nas was trying by all means, fair or foul, to find a good pretext for breaking the truce. The Paṇ-c'en wished to go personally to try once more a conciliation, but was again detained by his courtiers on the usual plea of the smallpox. He sent a messenger with many presents to P'o-lha-nas at Pa-snam-rdsoṅ, entreating him to keep the agreement. It was of no avail.

P'o-lha-nas at last came out in the open. He wrote a letter to the Paṇ-c'en, in which he declared that if he observed the agreement, it would stultify his efforts for the welfare of religion and of the people. He then sent the Mongol Omosu to fetch his elder son from Śel-dkar; he sent a reinforcement of 300 men to two officers of his who were at mT'oṅ-lcags-rdsoṅ (unidentified); Noyan Qośūči and *mda'-dpon* lCaṅ-lo-can-pa with 2000 men remained at the fort of Gyantse; Dayan Taiǰi with 1000 men was sent to Rin-c'en-spuṅ; [1] Lha-luṅ-rtse-pa with 500 men went to Gliṅ-dkar (unidentified.) P'o-lha-nas directed all these movements from his camp at Pa-snam-rdsoṅ. Having thus provided for the safety of gTsaṅ, he waited till his son and lCaṅ-lo-can-pa joined him. Then he ordered them to march with their troops through Yar-'brog to the southern border of dBus; they were evidently intended as a diversion, to draw upon themselves the attention of the Lhasa commanders. When this order was carried out, P'o-lha-nas left Pa-snam-rdsoṅ with his personal troops, and travelled by forced marches night and day on the northern road,[2] till he arrived at Yaṅs-pa-can.[3]

[1] Rinpung-dsong in the lower Rongchu valley, Cfr. E. Schäfer, *Geheimnis Tibet*, Munich 1943, p. 182. Wylie, p. 72 and p. 245.

[2] He may have followed either the route from Shigatse through the Śaṅs-c'u valley and the Khalamba-la, or that through 'U-yug.

[3] *MBTJ*, ff. 282b-283b. *A2PC*, f. 365b.

Ña-p'od-pa and the other ministers in Lhasa were taken completely by surprise. They sent messengers to recall the troops of dBus and Koṅ-po from Nangkartse to Lhasa. When they arrived, they encamped in the meadows (*ne'u-siṅ*) below the Potala.

In the north, P'o-lha-nas seems not to have found a situation quite as favourable as he expected. One of his main reasons for coming there was that, as both he and the late K'aṅ-c'en-nas had been faithful followers of Lajang Khan, and in a certain sense represented the traditions and memories of the Qōšot rule in Tibet, he had expected the fullest support from the Qōšots and other Mongols nomadising in 'Dam. But the tribes had been attacked and cowed into submission by the Lhasa triumvirate soon after the murder of K'aṅ-c'en-nas, and they were not ready to join P'o-lha-nas at once. The chieftain of the Mongol nomads near Yaṅs-pa-can had even voluntarily submitted to the Lhasa government; to give an example, P'o-lha-nas ordered him to be flogged and put to death. It seems that this timely act of energy improved his situation at once. When he reached the T'o-lo-k'o, country, the Mongol nomads in that zone, till then dispersed and uncertain, rallied to him. They brought him a much-needed reinforcement of fine soldiers. While encamping in that zone, P'o-lha-nas heard a rumour to the effect that Ña-p'od-pa with 2000 men was marching to P'o-mdo,[1] seeking a pitched battle. P'o-lha-nas with 2000 Tibetan and Mongol soldiers remained for two days and one night in the valley of gYaṅ-ra in 'Dam, waiting for the enemy; but nobody came and the rumour proved to be false.[2]

P'o-lha-nas received support also from other elements than the Mongols. A high church dignitary, the Grub-dbaṅ Sems-dpa'-c'en-po, sent him a letter with his good wishes and a present of good horses for him and his men.[3] All the same, it must not believed that the lamas were without exception rallying to his party. We know e.g. that Sum-pa mK'an-po, since 1726 abbot of the sGo-maṅ college in 'Bras-spuṅs, successfully prevented his monks from

---

[1] Phondu on the sKyid-c'u.

[2] *MBTJ*, f. 283b-284a.

[3] Sems-dpa'-c'en-po Grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an (d. June 2nd, 1741) was the incarnate of Lo-dgon (on which see Ferrari, p. 44 and n 118). He was highly regarded at the court of the Dalai-Lama and was in frequent contacts with the Italian missionaries and with the Dutch traveller Samuel van de Putte. See the short biography in *MITN*, II, p. 251.

taking sides in the civil war and compelled them to observe strict neutrality.[1]

At P'o-ts'aṅ-sum-mdo (unidentified), P'o-lha-nas received the submission of a Mongol clan which was subject to the Dalai-Lama's father, and of the Sog tribes of the Nag-c'u region. There a council of war was held. Some of P'o-lha-nas's officers maintained that they must remain in the Tengri-nor and 'Dam zone. As it was certain that the Chinese troops would advance towards Lhasa, the triumvirate would probably seek a decisive battle with P'o-lha-nas before the arrival of the Chinese; fighting in 'Dam must end with P'o-lha-nas's victory. But P'o-lha-nas was against prolonged idleness, and pleaded for a march straight to Lhasa. It was his ambition to confront the Chinese as the undisputed master of the capital, so as to compel them to recognize the de-facto situation and to entrust him with the government of Tibet. We may readily suppose that he did not wish to risk the arrival of the Chinese taking place earlier than he expected, so that he should have to enter Lhasa in their train. The council ranged itself to his views.

At this juncture a last attempt was made by the church to avoid a battle near Lhasa. A commission of church dignitaries, which had assembled for the purpose of trying to put an end to the civil war, sent to P'o-lha-nas asking for an interview. The commission comprised the envoys of the Paṇ-c'en and of the abbot of Sa-skya, the K'ri Rin-po'c'e dPal-ldan-grags-pa, and representatives from various monasteries. But together with this request, P'o-lha-nas received the news that a large Lhasa division had been completely defeated and dispersed at Yul-sbus-sde by his troops advancing from Ñaṅ-roṅ under the lead of his son and joined by the troops commanded by Dayan Taiǰi and T'on Sri-gcod-ts'e-brtan. P'o-lha-nas now felt sure of victory; he flatly refused to see the commission, and began immediately the march towards Lhasa with an army of 9000 men.[2]

His march went through 'P'an-yul;[3] his troops were held under strict discipline, and caused no harm to the peasantry. Having crossed the mountains, on the 25/V = c. July 2nd P'o-lha-nas

[1] S. Ch. Das, The life of Sum-pa-mk'an-po, in *JASB* 1889, p. 38. It must be remembered that Sum-pa mK'an-po was pro-Dsungar and therefore presumably unfriendly to P'o-lha-nas.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 283b-286a; *A2PC*, f. 368a; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, f. 22a.

[3] The valley to the north of Lhasa beyond the Kam-la.

encamped near the village of Gar-pa.[1] The only serious obstacle between Gar-pa and Lhasa was the fortified defile (*p'rañ*) of dGa'-mo [2] and P'o-lha-nas at once sent some parties to reconnoitre in that direction. One of these parties, advancing along the bank of the sKyid-c'u, took prisoner about 30 men of the garrison, and brought them bound and fettered before P'o-lha-nas; he set them free with a gift of tobacco for each. By this examples and by the disciplined behaviour of his troops, he went a long way towards winning the hearts of the dBus peasants. In the meantime the Lhasa army was still concentrated on the field beneath the Potala. Lum-pa-nas with some troops went out to defend the dGa'-mo defile: he found it deserted and placed a small garrison in it. The entrenchments formed a very strong position, as to the north they lay over a deep ravine of difficult access and towards the south they were protected by the sKyid-c'u. But Lum-pa-nas's men were by now utterly demoralized and discouraged, and had no more stomach for fighting. No wonder that in the following night U-c'ur K'a-śi-k'a, the youngest brother of P'o-lha-nas, despatched to the defile with some 300 matchlockmen (1000 according to the Chinese), had no difficulty in taking the entrenchments by surprise and putting the garrison to flight. This small defeat had a disastrous influence on Lum-pa-nas's dwindling army, and during the same night all his forces holding the outposts around Lhasa went over to P'o-lha-nas. On the next day at dawn P'o-lha-nas with his whole army in full battle array began the advance on Lhasa. This time there was little or no fighting. Lum-pa-nas's army simply melted away, his men disbanding without resistance in a complete rout. The troops of P'o-lha-nas advanced through the mass of the fugitives without meeting with opposition. Only a small remainder of the dBus and Koṅ-po troops threw themselves into the Potala through the gate of the walled dependencies,[3] and from this outwork Lum-pa-nas and some of his men kept the enemy at bay the fire of their matchlocks. But this small resistance could be safely disregarded. The gTsaṅ army streamed into the city, occupying the 'P'rul-snaṅ cathedral and other public building. The war was over. On the 26/V = July 3rd, 1728, Lhasa, except

---

[1] Not on the maps. From the Chinese itineraries (Rockhill in *JRAS* 1891, p. 94) we gather that it was only a short distance from Lhasa.

[2] Evidently the same as the rGad-mo defilé of 1705; see back p. 11.

[3] *Lha-žol*; see back, p. 48.

for the handful of men ensconced in the Potala and its dependencies, was in the hands of P'o-lha-nas.[1]

Looking back to the civil war, we can see that it was sharply divided in three periods: the first gTsaṅ campaign, the second gTsaṅ campaign and the northern campaign. The first two had as objectives the control of the region governed by P'o-lha-nas and of his private estates. In the first, the Lhasa troops took the initiative, but they limited themselves to the defensive as soon as they heard of P'o-lha-nas's advance. The energetic offensive of P'o-lha-nas led to the only pitched battle of the war. P'o-lha-nas presumed too much of his still raw troops, and was beaten at 'Bras-k'ud, partly through his own carelessness. In the second gTsaṅ campaign the initiative belonged mainly to P'o-lha-nas, but there was no military decision, and the stalemate was ended only by P'o-lha-nas's superior but rather dishonest diplomacy. In the northern campaign, the contest was decided by the better strategy of P'o-lha-nas, mainly because he had completely worn down the enemy in the preceeding campaign.

It is interesting to compare the two opposite commanders. Lumpa-nas was a sound tactician, as we showed at 'Bras-k'ud. But strategically he always left the initiative to his adversary, limiting himself to a narrow and unimaginative defensive. The idea of crushing his adversary by resolutely taking the offensive and seeking him out in his lairs of Sa-dga' and mÑa'-ris, never seems to have entered his head. As an organizer, he was much inferior to his enemy. He allowed his army to be twice disbanded and twice rassembled, which sapped its fitness for combat far more than any lost battle could have done.

P'o-lha-nas, quite on the contrary, was better in strategy than in tactics; but he went on improving in both fields as the war dragged on. His first campaign in gTsaṅ shows no leading idea; he simply tried to get the most urgent job done, the liberation of gTsaṅ. The second campaign showed already a more mature judgment and a clear strategic conception: no battle, but the wearing down of the enemy through his masterly inactivity at Gyantse. Then follows his master-stroke, which brands him as the best Tibetan general of his day: the reversing of the direction of attack. The idea of getting to Lhasa from the north instead of the south-west

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 286b-289a; Index to the bKa'-'gyur of sNar-t'aṅ, ff. 35b and 36b; *K. Ann.*, p. 443 (transl. p. 51); *sTag-luṅ*, f. 398a; Doc. V; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, f. 22a.

is of such a well-calculated audacity, that it reveals a generalship of high order. It was the crowning feat of his military career. As a tactician, P'o-lha-nas badly blundered at 'Bras-k'ud, where he showed himself a brave soldier, but not a good leader. The tactics of the second campaign were far better; this time he kept his head cool, and successfully avoided being inveigled into a decisive action. In the northern campaign, the storming of Lhasa was a feat of no military importance, because of the absence of real opposition. But as after 'Bra-k'ud there was never again a regular battle, we cannot judge whether this noticeable improvement would have enabled P'o-lha-nas to win a fight in the open field. As an organizer, he showed himself at his best. After the first campaign he succeeded so completely in keeping his troops to the colours, that they never again gave him trouble on that score, and even became a driving element in his action. P'o-lha-nas fully deserved his victory. A pity only that he won it through what was and remains, in spite of all his biographer's whitewashing, a useful piece of rascality.

CHAPTER TEN

THE TRIAL OF THE MINISTERS AND P'O-LHA-NAS'S RISE TO POWER

As far as we know, P'o-lha-nas's entry into Lhasa was not accompanied by the wild scenes of pillage which characterized the storming by the Dsungars in 1717. But some looting did take place. In a letter dated Lhasa, July 21st, 1731, Fr. Francesco Orazio della Penna states that "three years ago the present Viceroy took Lhasa, and there was a sack, during which we lost nearly everything; and if the Viceroy had not posted some soldiers on guard of our convent and of us, they would have taken away all the woodwork and perhaps killed us too, as they did to some. They also destroyed a few houses".[1] P'o-lha-nas found it also necessary to issue a proclamation to his troops ordering that the houses of his friends the dBus *mda'-dpon* 'Bum-t'aṅ-pa Blo-bzaṅ-dar-rgyas, Bon-rigs Ṅag-dbaṅ-bde-c'en and mDo-mk'ar Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal were on no account to be touched.[2] Anyhow, from the Chinese documents we learn that the next day order was restored.

The Potala still remained untaken, and P'o-lha-nas established a strict blockade around it, so that nobody could leave. The blockade soon had its moral effects on the inmates of the sacred castle. The two Chinese envoys Seṅ-ge and Mala had taken refuge in it on the day of the fall of Lhasa; but soon as order was restored, they hastened to leave the Potala and to take up their residence in the town (27/V = July 4th). The Dalai-Lama too was still in the Potala, and this was a source of alarm for the monks, as his sacred person was in some danger there. The principal church dignitaries in the city assembled to consider the matter; they were the bTsan-po Nomun Qa'an,[3] the K'ri Rin-po-c'e and the chief lamas of the three great monasteries. They had an interview with P'o-lha-nas and told him that the Dalai-Lama and his father were completely innocent of the murder of K'aṅ-c'en-nas and of the civil war, and

[1] *MITN*, I, p. 144.

[2] *MBTJ*, f. 289a-b.

[3] I.e. the Min-ts'ul Qutuqtu, head of the dGon-luṅ monastery in Amdo; L. M. J. Schram, *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan border*, II, p. 28.

that on this they (the monks) were ready to take an oath. P'o-lha-nas replied protesting his utmost respect for the church and his deep reverence for the Dalai-Lama. He suggested that the Dalai-Lama and his father should retire out of danger to Se-ra or 'Bras-spuṅs, as it was not fitting that they should continue to reside with the wicked ministers. As to Lum-pa-nas and the others, they should come out of the gate of the dependencies and fight it out with P'o-lha-nas in the open. The Dalai-Lama and his father, informed of the proposals, gave their assent. The ministers on the contrary thought that if they could hold the palace for two or three months, the Chinese troops would arrive and rescue them.[1]

This obstinate delusion on the possibility of China deciding in their favour is indeed strange; it receives however an interesting side-light from a passage of the *Ragguaglio* of Fr. Gioacchino of S. Anatolia, which says that both sides had sent envoys to the emperor and that "the emperor of China with a peculiar kind of politics tried to make both parties believe that he was satisfied with the action of the one and of the other side, and secretly promised his succour by sending private messengers to the one and to the other; so that each side believed China to be favourable to them. But really this was in order to keep in suspense the rebel party and to support that of the fourth minister of state, called Calon Poletagy (*bka'-blon* P'o-lha Taiji)".[2] The Capuchin Father is of course merely repeating what was the popular rumour in Lhasa; and I believe that the rumour was right. A more real hope, though a not very bright one, was represented by the troops of Ṅa-p'od-pa's son, garrisoning the capital of his province of Koṅ-po. But in the general collapse of the vanquished party, it could not be seriously hoped that these troops would be able to reverse the decision.

While the ministers still fondly gave themselves to these vain hopes, the Dalai-Lama and his father abandoned the sinking ship. The bTsan-po Nomun Qa'an went in the Potala and asked for the particular wishes of the Dalai-Lama concerning his future residence. The Dalai-Lama reiterated his innocence of K'aṅ-c'en-nas's death, accepted the guarantee of P'o-lha-nas and requested to be allowed to retire to 'Bras spuṅs. P'o-lha-nas, to whom the matter was referred, gave his assent. It was agreed that the Dalai-Lama with

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 291a-292a; Doc. V.
[2] *MITN*, III, p. 219.

four attendants, and his father with three, should leave for 'Bras-spuṅs, accompanied on the way by 2000 monks of Se-ra and 'Bras-spuṅs. But the agreement was not carried out in this form. The Dalai-Lama left the Potala, met P'o-lha-nas in the dGa'-ldan K'aṅ-gsar palace and effected a complete reconciliation with him. This happened apparently on the day following the fall of Lhasa; it may even be that the Dalai-Lama left the Potala together with the Chinese envoys.

The Dalai-Lama then suggested that, although he was perfectly willing to go to 'Bras-spuṅs, it would be still better if he could remain in the Potala; if the ministers were allowed to come down to the town and to reside there in full safety, he could return to the Potala and act from there, in complete agreement with P'o-lha-nas. It may be surmised that the Dalai-Lama made this proposal on the request of the ministers; they had very soon understood the hopelessness of their situation and acquisced to the inevitable, deciding to throw themselves on the mercy of P'o-lha-nas.[1]

The death blow to their hopes was dealt by the arrival of P'o-lha-nas's son at the head of the southern army of 3000 horse and 9000 infantry; he surrounded the Potala, preparing to storm it. With his arrival, any hope of succour from Ṅa-p'od-pa's son disappeared and we are completely in the dark about his eventual fate. But he could not have represented a serious threat, because he is not mentioned in the Tibetan texts at all; and anyhow he never had a chance of success, because the Chinese army was preparing to meet the contingency, even should he overpower P'o-lha-nas's forces. Seeing the preparations for the storm of the Potala, the ministers appealed to the Dalai-Lama who once again interceded with P'o-lha-nas, offering rich presents on their behalf and asking for a promise of safety for them. P'o-lha-nas agreed, and the three ex-ministers came out of the gate of the dependencies and offered homage to him. The conqueror held his word and promised full protection to them, their followers and their property, till the arrival of the Chinese army. He could well afford to be generous, as he knew that the arrival of the representatives of the empror would take the matter out of his hands; and he said so to the ministers, declaring that the final judgment between them and him belonged to the envoys of the emperor. The ministers were placed

[1] *MBTJ*, f. 293a-b.

under a guard of 300 men each, but otherwise treated honourably; they could meet their friends and freely dispose of their property. The surrender took place on the 28/V = July 5th.[1]

It is no wonder that this apparent generosity irritated P'o-lha-nas's officers and men. They protested in a body against such a lenient treatment of the persons chiefly responsible for the civil war. They requested the immediate execution of the three ministers, because, among other reasons, they were uncertain about the view which the Chinese would take of the question. But P'o-lha-nas reassured them on this score; he said that the prisoners were doomed, and that it would not be well to take them away from the grasp of Chinese justice.[2]

P'o-lha-nas was now sure of his ground. Not only his several reports to the emperor during the war were bound to procure him the full favour of the Chinese government; but, to be doubly sure, on the same day on which the ministers had surrendered, he had visited Seṅ-ge and Mala, had given them a report on his activities, and had expressed the wish to return to Ulterior Tibet, in order to provide for the defence of the mountain passes in that region. He begged also that his report might be forwarded to the emperor, for eventual rewards and commendations. The intended retirement was of course only a polite formality, and with this sham modesty P'o-lha-nas merely gave a delicate hint to the Chinese governement that he expected recognition of his authority. As we shall see, he was not deluded in his expectations, thanks also to the warm recommendation of Yüeh Chung-ch'i. As to P'o-lha-nas's soldiers, the emperor decreed a reward of 30.000 taels for them.[3] It is noteworthy that there is not the slightest hint of these transactions to be found in the *MBTJ*. More than this, this work absolutely ignores Seṅ-ge and Mala, and were it not for our other sources, we should be totally in the dark about the presence of a Chinese mission at Lhasa throughout the war. What purpose the author of the *MBTJ* meant to serve by this obstinate silence, is beyond our understanding.

The visible seal on the official recognition of P'o-lha-nas's paramountcy in Lhasa was placed on an auspicious day of the 6th month (July-August), when P'o-lha-nas, along with the bTsan-po

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 294a-b; *A2PC*, f. 368a; *sTag-lun*, f. 398a. Doc. V.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 294b-295b.

[3] Doc V.

Nomun Qa'an, the incarnate of Ba-so, the K'ri Rin-po-c'e, the abbots of Se-ra and 'Bras-spuṅs and his officers, went to the Potala and presented himsef in full pomp to the Dalai-Lama. It was the formal audience, in which the Dalai-Lama solemny approved P'o-lha-nas's action. A private interview then followed, to which only the father of the Dalai-Lama, the Rig-'dsin bŽad-pa'i-rdo-rje and sKu-mdun sÑags-rams-pa (now styled sKu-mdun mK'an-po) were present. The Dalai-Lama suggested that he could retire as usual for a spell to 'Bras-spuṅs, while P'o-lha-nas cleansed sKyid-śod (the Lhasa district) of the marauders and brigands who were a legacy of the civil war. The proposal was not carried out, because of the arrival of the Chinese army.[1]

We shall now briefly tell the story of the Chinese expedition to Tibet in 1728. As it was a simple military promenade and no fighting occurred, I shall avoid entering into particulars; these will be found in the Chinese documents of the Appendix. The first military precautions were taken by the emperor already in the 9th month of 1727, mainly because he feared that the outbreak in Tibet was due to intrigues of the Dsungars, with whom in that period he was at peace. But when he heard that it was a quarrel between the Tibetan ministers, he considered it a matter of little importance, and in the same month he ordered all the preparations to be suspended.[2] Apparently P'olha-nas had not yet succeeded in impressing him with the gravity of the events. But soon the Chinese government realized the seriousness of the Tibetan outbreak and the importance of the high stakes involved. In the 11th month of 1727 the expedition to Tibet was decided. It was to be commanded by the president of the Censorate[3] Jalangga 查郎阿,[4] with the brigadier-general Mailu 邁祿 as second in command. The expeditionary forces consisted of 400 Manchu soldiers from Hsian-fu and 15.000 Chinese Green Bannersmen from Shensi, Szechwan and Yünnan. Very careful arrangements were made for the organization and financial support of the army. On the whole, this edict is an interesting document of the military administration of China in the early 18th century.[1] Jalangga was to leave Peking

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 295b-297b.
[2] *Kêng-shên*/IX = October 21st, 1727. *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 61, f. 6a-b.
[3] *Tso-tu-yü-shih* 左都衙史; Mayers, n. 185.
[4] D. 1747. His biography in Hummel, pp. 395-396.

for Hsining in the first month of 1728, and the campaign was to begin in the spring, as soon as the climatic conditions allowed it.

The plan was duly carried out. The army left Hsining on the 6/V = June 13th, 1728, and reached Lhasa on the I/VIII = September 4 th;[2] nearly the same date (30/VII) is given in the Tibetan texts.[3] The titles of the two Chinese commanders in the *MBTJ* and in the *Index* of the bKa'-'gyur of sNar-t'aṅ are A-li-han Am-pa and Me-riṅ Dsaṅ-gi. The first is the Manchu *aliha amban*, or president of a board. The second is, as we have already seen, *meiren-i janggin*, the Manchu equivalent of the Chinese title *fu-tu-t'ung*, brigadier-general.

The Chinese commanders brought the praise of the emperor, who had offered prayers in the imperial temples of Peking for the victory of P'o-lha-nas, as soon as he had heard of the revolt. This is of course an exaggeration of the *MBTJ*; the Chinese documents do not mention such a thing, but on the contrary speak of the hesitation of the emperor before he ordered the expedition to Tibet. Then the main task of the Chinese expeditionary force was taken in hand: the punishment of the rebels. Soon after their arrival, Jalangga and Mailu, together with Seṅ-ge and Mala, constituted themselves as a high court of justice, and summoned the three ex-ministers to their presence. Ña-p'od-pa, Lum-pa-nas and sByar-ra-ba were formally indicted, the charge being of having acted against the orders of the emperor. They were then put in chains and handed back to P'o-lha-nas's men for custody. On the next day the actual trial began in a solemn form, the Chinese commissioners with P'o-lha-nas sitting in a magnificent tent erected in the middle of the Lha-klu-dga'-ts'al park. The enclosure was surrounded by Chinese soldiers in parade uniforms. The three ministers and their followers were brought to court in chains. Their plea consisted in a long indictment of K'aṅ-c'en-nas; they referred to a petition which they had sent to the emperor soon after the death of K'aṅ-'en-nas. There is no trace of this memorial in the Chinese documents, but as it is mentioned in two independent sources such as the *MBTJ* and the *Ragguaglio* of Fr. Gioacchino da S. Anatolia, it bears all

---

[1] Doc. IV.

[2] Doc. VI.

[3] *MBTJ*, f. 298a. Actually the text has *ston-zla-t'a-c'uṅ* (10th month), but this is an evident mistake for *dbyar-zla-t'a-c'uṅ* (7th month).

the marks of authenticity. The ministers accused K'aṅ-c'en-nas of having paid lip-service only to the Yellow Church, of having felt not the slightest reverence for the Dalai-Lama, of having exerted himself in favour of the Dsungars, of having boasted to know all the facts of religion and law, of having entertained correspondence with all the neighbouring kings in order to gain their friendship, of having shown little respect for the emperor, of having sent letters to the Dsungar ruler Cewang Arabtan, and so on; seventy charges in all. Their statement was checked by the commissioners with the original memorial in their possession; the meaning of each charge was discussed, and the ministers insisted on all their accusations. Their line of defence was of course that of presenting K'aṅ-c'en-nas as a traitor and a potential rebel and their action as a just punishment; it was probably the only justification which could be attempted with any chance of success. Then P'o-lha-nas made a lengthy speech, refuting each charge and showing its falsity. A long and heated discussion followed, till it was closed by the Chinese commissioners, who expressed their approval of P'o-lha-nas's contentions. The trial then continued for several days.[1]

An element of complication was introduced by the fact that the ministers had enclosed with their petition to the emperor a list of their chief supporters (as well as of their chief opponents); and now, while the trial went on, these men were one by one arrested and imprisoned by order of Jalangga. But it was not in the interest of P'o-lha-nas that the small fry in the ministers' party be punished; such an excessive severity would be of no advantage and would make him unpopular. He therefore begged from the commissioners that these men be pardoned. With great difficulty the pardon was granted. The greater part were released, some were admonished, some were put in the cangue and set free. This of course concerned only those men over whom the Chinese court claimed jurisdiction. Outside this, P'o-lha-nas absolutely refused the requests reaching him from many sides for a stern punishment of those who had fought against him in the war. Many of the mÑa'-ris and gTsaṅ officers sent him a letter in which they expressed their preoccupations for his safety and their indignation and discontent as seeing him surrounded by such one-time ennemies as the dBus *mda'-dpon* 'Bum-t'aṅ-

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 298b-300b. Fr. Gioacchino da S. Anatolia, in *MITN*, III, p. 219.

pa Blo-bzaṅ-dar-rgyas, Bon-rigs Ṅag-dbaṅ-bde-c'en and *rtsis-dpon* mDo-mk'ar T'se-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal. P'o-lha-nas replied by a letter assuring them of his heartfelt affection and gratitude, but took no heed of their warnings and protests. Even in the formation of his government P'o-lha-nas showed in the clearest possible way that he made no difference between former enemies and friends. He chose as his ministers mDo-mk'ar Ts'e-riṅ-dban-rgyal and T'on-pa Sri-gcod-ts'e-brtan; both had fought against him in the war. At least T'on-pa had gone over to him near rGyaṅ-mk'ar. But Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal had remained aloof, to say the least. This was why he hesitated for a while, fearing reprisals, but eventually accepted. The names of the two men were submitted to the emperor for his approval, which, as we shall see, came in due time. But without waiting for the imperial sanction, they were provisionally installed in their new office with the full approval of the Chinese commissioners. Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal had expressed some fears on this account, as once he had been a retainer of sTag-rtse-pa, the henchman of the Dsungars. But P'o-lha-nas's recommendation was enough for Jalangga, and he did not care about the past of the new ministers.[1]

About this time the imperial edict concerning the reward to the soldiers of P'o-lha-nas [2] together with a sum of 30.000 taels reached Lhasa; document and money were handed over to P'o-lha-nas by the commissioners. He duly acknowledged the gift, and distributed it in a fashion slightly different from that intended by the emperor. The Dalai-Lama and his father received 2000 taels each, the clergy 1300 taels, and an unspecified sum was appropriated for offerings in the Potala and the 'Pr'ul-snaṅ; only what was left was then distributed to the soldiery.[3]

Then at last the long-protracted trial of the three ex-ministers drew to an end. The culprits and their followers were sentenced to death. On the 30/IX = November 1st, 1728 [4] the Chinese army assembled in full parade behind the Potala. The sentenced men, seventeen in all, naked and chained, marched in an open space in the midst of the troops. They were led to the "tent of death"

---

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 301a-303b; *sTag-luṅ*, f. 398a.

[2] Doc. V.

[3] *MBTJ*, ff. 303b-304b.

[4] *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, ch. 13a, f. 7b *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 2, f. 9a. The same date is given by Francesco Orazio della Penna, in *MITN*, III, p. 63, and by A. Giorgi, *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, p. 338.

in a meadow on the banks of the Ba-ma-ri canal, a short distance south by west of the Potala.[1] Four scaffolds (*k'rims-śiṅ*) were prepared there. On them the executioners tied Ṅa-p'od-pa, Lum-pa-nas, the lama of sKyor-mo-luṅ and the administrator (*gñer-'dsin*) of the rNam-rgyal-grva-ts'aṅ college. The troops gave three salvoes from their matchclocks, then the executioners set about their gruesome work. Ṅa-p'od-pa and Lum-pa-nas were done to death by the slicing process (*ling-ch'ih* 凌遲), the two churchmen were slowly strangled, the remaining thirteen were decapitated by three cuts of the sword. The terrible scene made a deep impression on the populace, as indeed it was meant to do. After five years, the author of the *MBTJ* still feels gloomy and depressed in relating it. P'o-lha-nas too was dejected at the spectacle, and in the following days he presented offerings in the temples of Lhasa for the spiritual good of the executed men. The work of Chinese justice was completed by the traditional execution of all the nearer relations of the culprits, small children not expected. Only sByar-ra-ba's family was sentenced to deportation; it was a doubtful mercy, because it meant slavery and because of the cruel manner in which such a sentence was invariably carried out by the Chinese, most of the people concerned dying on the way. The lesson had been terrible and Tibet was effectively cowed into submission for a long time.[2]

Concerning the trial of the ministers, one feels inclined to ask a question: what was the purpose of the revolt, and against whom was it directed? The later Chinese official version, as consecrated in 19th century historiography, is that the revolt broke out in collusion with the Dsungars and was directed against China.[3] This is quite comprehensible; a century after the events, the Chinese-Dsungar conflict is the only angle from which Chinese writers could view this period of Tibetan history, even where quite different problems were concerned. This is the version that has been presented to the European public by Rockhill and Courant. But I think the truth lies elsewhere. After the murder of K'aṅ-c'en-nas the ministers had allowed the Chinese envoys to arrive and to remain undisturbed in

---

[1] Under the Ba-mo hill, n. 11 in Waddell's plan of Lhasa.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 304a-310b; *sTag-luṅ*, f. 398b; *Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan*, ch. 11, f. 36a; Doc. VI. In Della Penna's already quoted letter of April Ist, 1741 there is a gruesome description of the scene, tallying point with the account of the *MBTJ*.

[3] *Shêng-wu-chi*, ch. 5, f. 12b *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, f. 24a-b

Lhasa. They took pains to explain their action to the emperor in a long memorial. In no Tibetan text do we read of any hostile act or preparation against China. When shut up in the Potala, they even expected rescue from China. Their trial is narrated by the biographer and friend of their arch-enemy; but neither in his work nor in Jalangga's report of the trial do we find them charged by P'o-lha-nas with treacherous correspondence with the Dsungars. If he had brought such a charge, surely it would have been recorded in the *MBTJ*, which is so full of accusations and insults to the ministers. They accepted the armistice of the 3rd month and the surrender of the 6th month on condition that the arrival of the Chinese commissioners should be awaited; evidently they counted on the justice of their case and on a fair judgment by the Chinese. What does all this mean? It can mean only one thing, that the revolt was mainly, if not purely, an internal Tibetan affair. It was a clash of personalities, and it was above all the conflict of two old parties, which once again tried to settle their differences by force of arms and by calling in foreign intervention. Both of them recognized Chinese suzerainty, and both of them tried to obtain Chinese support. The abler diplomat won. But his victory and the subsequent tendentious interpretations of the events cannot blind us to the fact that it had been a civil war, not a revolt against Chinese protectorate.[1]

The real relation of the Tibetan civil war with Dsungars-Chinese politics is shown in its true light by the contemporary Chinese documents. As we have seen, the Chinese government at first entertained the suspicion that Dsungar intrigue was involved. But this proved incorrect, and it nearly caused the abandonment of the proposed Chinese intervention.[2] There was then peace between China and the Dsungars; and at the beginning of 1728 a Dsungar embassy was received in Peking. The new Dsungar ruler, Galdan Cering (dGa'-ldan-ts'e-riṅ, 1727-1745), requested, among other things, the permission to send to Lhasa the offerings to the Tibetan clergy called *maṅ-ja* (collective tea-party to the monks), for the sake of the diffusion of Buddhism and of the appeasement of the country. The reply of the emperor was rather ironical and politely negative: "This

[1] Schulemann, *Geschichte der Dalailamas*[2], p. 305, says that "it appears that the Dalai--Lama was so foolish as to declare, after the deed, Tibet as independent". This statement, for which no source is given, is absolutely unwarranted.

[2] See back, p. 145.

is none of your business. The Dsungars are a small tribe in the north-western corner; what relations can there be between the diffusion or non-diffusion of Buddhism and your offering of a *mañ-ja*?".[1] It is difficult to get a precise idea of what the Dsungars meant by this step, but it looks like a clumsy attempt at fishing in the troubled waters of Tibet with Chinese acquiescence. For me, it is indirect evidence that the civil war in Tibet had not broken out in collusion with the Dsungars. If they had had a part in it, they would not have tried this peculiar way of entering Tibet with Chinese permission.

We can tell with some precision how the official Chinese version came into being. It is contained in germ in the proclamation which the emperor issued on *kuei-szŭ*/II = March 17th, 1729, as a war manifesto against the Dsungars. In this long document the emperor says that the ministers murdered K'añ-c'en-nas "in order to support the evil cause" of the Dsungars, who rejoiced in the murder of a tried friend of the empire. Further on the emperor states that the ministers were caught while trying to escape to Dsungaria.[2] In another manifesto dated *kêng-tzŭ*/IV = May 13th, 1731, the emperor again avers that, when Ṅa-p'od-pa killed K'añ-c'en-nas, he banked on the fact that the land of the Dsungars was near and that Lobjang-Danjin who had fled there, was his relative, whom he trusted implicitly.[3] These statements look suspiciously like war-propaganda; and from them to the pseudo-historical account of the *Shêng-wu-chi*, the way is easy and natural.

We come now to speak of the reorganization of the protectorate. The Chinese had arrived at the conclusion that the court of the young Dalai-Lama was the centre of all intrigue and mischief, and that the main responsible for this situation was his father. Any strong action against their sacred persons was of course impossible; but at least they could be placed in conditions of doing no more harm. Accordingly, it was decided to remove the Dalai-Lama from Lhasa.[4]

---

[1] *Chia-wu*/XII = January 23rd, 1728. *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 64, f. 16a-b.

[2] *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 78, ff. 19b and 20a.

[3] *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 105, ff. 8b-9a.

[4] The *Shêng-wu-chi*, ch. 5, f. 12b, says that the Dalai-Lama was sent to K'ams in order to protect him against an intended Dsungar raid. But the *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, ch. 13a, f. 8a, which is much more trustworthy and nearer to the events, states that the Dalai-Lama was brought to Li-t'ang "in order to avoid trouble" (以杜釁端). This statement is supported by the accounts of the Italian missionaries. The contemporary documents in the *Shih-lu* are silent on the motives of the removal of the Dalai-Lama from

The form employed in carrying out this measure was polite and courteous to the utmost degree; not the slightest hint of disrespect was shown to the Dalai-Lama; but under the velvet glove the iron hand was felt. In the 10th month (November) of 1728 Jalangga and his colleague had an audience with the Dalai-Lama in the Potala. They invited him to come to Peking for a stay of one year. The Dalai-Lama begged to be excused from the journey for a time, on account of his not having yet finished his studies and not having yet quite recovered from the smallpox; he promised compliance in a near future. The commisioners granted a short respite. P'o-lha-nas got wind of the matter. He feared that a journey and prolonged stay of the Dalai-Lama in Peking would smack too much of deportation for the taste of the Tibetans; perhaps he even feared for the life of the young Dalai-Lama. He privately interviewed Jalangga and entreated him earnestly not to deprive the Tibetans of their spiritual father. The reply was a refusal. On the next day P'o-lha-nas came again, this time accompanied by all the foremost dignitaries of the church and the principal monks in a solemn procession. They went to the tent of Jalangga, threw themselves on their knees and repeated their supplications. Again they met with a stern refusal accompanied by threats. They still insisted, and even the Paṇ-c'en, who in the meantime had arrived in Lhasa, joined in their supplications; but it was all in vain. More than this, the *aliha amban* limited the Tibetan retinue of the Dalai-Lama (who was to travel to K'ams under Chinese escort) to 80 men only. But at least in this mall matter P'o-lha-nas was able to obtain permission for a retinue of 200 men.[1]

The curious thing in the whole proceedings was that it was never intended that the Dalai-Lama should go to Peking; no such order was ever given by the emperor. And even in the Tibetan texts, not a single word more is said about the Dalai-Lama's journey to the capital, as soon as he had agreed to leave. Thus it seems that the Chinese commissioners simply employed the pretence of an imperial invitation as a decoy for the Dalai-Lama, who could not very well

---

Lhasa. The version of the *Shêng-wu-chi* is given for the first time in a document of the time of the Dalai-Lama's return to Lhasa in 1735; *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 145, f. 8b. By this time the need was felt for some sort of moral justification for the Dalai-Lama's exile. But it is evidently an afterthought, and no such reason was the mainspring of the Chinese action in 1728.

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 311b-313b; *A2PC*, ff. 371b-372a, *L7DL*, f. 123b.

refuse such a high favour. Once the journey was agreed to by the Dalai-Lama, the mask was dropped, even before the actual departure. And indeed, when the Dalai-Lama officially announced his decision to leave Lhasa, he simply stated that he accepted to travel to K'ams for the welfare of the people, nothwithstanding the supplications of the Paṇ-c'en and of the K'ri Rin-po-c'e not to leave Tibet. On the 23/XI = December 23rd [1] the Dalai-Lama left Lhasa, accompanied by Jalangga and the greater part of the Chinese expeditionary force. Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal was appointed to accompany him as far as 'Dam-t'aṅ.[2]

The Capuchins tells us that when the Dalai-Lama left Lhasa, the emperor appointed the "Chiesré Rimbocé" as the Dalai-Lama's vicegerent.[3] There was no imperial appointment, because nothing of the sort is mentioned in Tibetan or Chinese texts. But it is a fact that when the Dalai-Lama "left for mDo-smad, the appointed the rGyal-sras sPrul-pa'i-sku Rin-po-c'e as his vice-gerent (*rgyal-ts'ab*) in order to perform the most auspicious service of acting in favour of the Teaching of the Conqueror (Buddhism) by presiding over the ceremony of the great *smon-lam*". Upon leaving, the Dalai-Lama gave him detailed instructions on the manner in which, until the sovereign himself returned to Tibet, he (the rGyal-sras) "was to further the diffusion of the precious teaching of the Master 'Jam-mgon (Tsoṅ-k'a-pa) and not to allow any flagging of the mental activity directed toward the happiness of all creatures".[4]

The rGyal-sras Rin-p'o-c'e (Chiesré Rimbocé of the missionaries) 'Jigs-med-ye-śes-grags-pa was the incarnate of 'On C'os-sdiṅs.[5] After 1720 he dwelt for long periods at Lhasa, and now in 1728 he became the purely religious vicar of the Dalai-Lama. Soon after the latter's return in 1735 he retired to C'os-sdiṅs, where he died in February 1740.[6]

[1] *L7DL*, f. 124a; *A2PC*, f. 372b; *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, ch. 13a, f. 8a; *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 21, p. 9b. Same date in Francesco Orazio della Penna, *MITN*, III, p. 63, and A. Giorgi, Op. cit., p. 338.

[2] *sTag-luṅ*, f. 399a.

[3] Letter of Fr. Gioacchino da S. Anatolia, Lhasa, September 1731, in *MITN*, I, pp. 167-168; Francesco Orazio della Penna, in *MITN*, III, pp. 63-64, 93 and 161.

[4] *L7DL*, ff. 124a and 127a.

[5] Not far from Tsetang. Ferrari, p. 47 and nn. 186, 190, 191; Wylie, p. 90 and nn. 512, 513.

[6] For a short sketch of his life see *MITN*, I, p. 223. Of course he had nothing to do with the K'ri Rin-po-c'e (as often believed by scholars), of whom three sat successively on the throne of dGa'-ldan during the exile of the Dalai-Lama.

Of course he had nothing to do with the temporal affairs of Tibet.[1]

While the Dalai-Lama was sent into exile, the treatment of the second head of the Lamaist church was quite different. As soon as they arrived, Jalangga and Mailu had insisted on the Paṇ-c'en coming to Lhasa. He tried every way possible to avoid the unpleasant journey. But the customary pretext of the smallpox did not work with the Chinese and on 13/IX = c. October 15th, 1728, the Paṇ-c'en had to leave for Lhasa, where he arrived about ten days later. He was received by P'o-lha-nas, the Dalai-Lama's father and the Chinese commissioners with all honours due to his rank. On the 26/IX = October 28th he was presented with an imperial edict granting to him the sovereignty of gTsaṅ and Western Tibet as far as the Kailasa, the districts being listed as follows: Lha-rtse, P'un-ts'ogs-gliṅ, Ňam-riṅs, rDsoṅ-k'a, sKyid-groṅ, mŇa'-ris sKor-gsum. After a convenient reluctance, in Chinese fashion he accepted the three first districts and refused the rest, which was the more valuable part of the donation.[2] Although the Paṇ-c'en does not mention it in his autobiography, we know from the Tibetan texts utilized by S. Ch. Das that, in return for this, he had to renounce in favour of the Lhasa government all his rights and pretensions in Eastern gTsaṅ, including the districts of P'ag-ri (Phari), Gyantse and of lake Palti, the border being settled to the west of Pa-snam-rdsoṅ.[3] This day marks the creation of the temporal rights of the Paṇ-c'en in gTsaṅ and of his political importance as some sort of balance against that of the Dalai-Lama. By way of thanks for the imperial favour, he sent a mission of homage to Peking.[4]

---

[1] The missionaries too are quite clear on this point. A memorial from the Propaganda Fide congregation to the king of Spain (see later p. 239) says that in 1728 the emperor "appointed a Vice-Lama, giving him all the spiritual faculties enjoyed by the Grand Lama, as well as all the revenue which belonged to the same Grand Lama"; *MITN*, III, p. 177. Della Penna's report to Propaganda Fide on the re-establishment of the Tibetan mission (*Rappresentanza dei Padri Cappuccini missionari nel Thibet* etc.) says that this vice-gerent received only "the exercise of the spiritual jurisdiction and the absolute direction of the clergy"; *MITN*, III, p. 146.

[2] *A2PC*, ff. 368b-370a.

[3] S. Ch. Das, Contributions to the religion, history etc. of Tibet, in *JASB* 1882, p. 29.

[4] The mission of the Paṇ-c'en together with one sent by the Dalai-Lama, was received at court on *hsin-wei*/I = February 23rd, 1729. *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 77, f. 14a.

Before leaving Lhasa with the Dalai-Lama, Jalangga settled the form of the new government. He proposed the following arrangement to the Chinese government. P'o-lha-nas was to remain as before in charge of Ulterior Tibet (gTsaṅ), for which post he had proved eminently fit. For Lhasa and Anterior Tibet (dBus), P'o-lha-nas had recommended two men (Sri-gcod-ts'e-brtan and Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal), honoured and trusted by the people; they were to get the official appointment as ministers (*bka'-blon*) and to be placed in charge of Anterior Tibet. P'o-lha-nas was appointed, provisionally and on probation, to supervise both provincial administrations. Although Jalangga's proposals went farther than his original instructions, according to which the two provincial administrations were to be kept separate, they were approved by the emperor at the beginning of 1729.[1] Some days later the emperor gave the formal sanction to P'o-lha-nas's new rank and dignity, by granting him, by a most gracious rescript, the title of *beise*.[2] Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal, upon his return from 'Dam-t'aṅ received the imperial grant of the title of first class *jasak taiǰi* and the appointment as *bka'-blon*.[3] This new administrative system proved sound. As P'o-lha-nas himself had nominated the new ministers, they were completely subordinate to him, eliminating thus the danger of a revival of the five-headed hydra of 1724.

About the same time the grateful emperor honoured the memory of dGa'-bži-ba Ts'e-brtan-bkra-śis, who had fallen in battle, by awarding the posthumous rank of a first-class *taiǰi*; his son rNam-rgyal-ts'e-brtan was granted the inheritance of the title.[4] However, these Chinese honours implied no territorial sovereignty or feudal tenure; and mÑa'-ris was permanently lost to the dGa'-bži family.

Also in the matter of Chinese supervision of the Tibetan government, there was a return to the administrative ideas of K'ang-hsi, the value of which had been shown by the foolish retrenchment policy of Yung-chêng and by the disaster of the civil war. Jalangga had come to Tibet as a kind of envoy extraordinary, with powers to regulate Tibetan affairs. He had acted in concert with Seṅ-ge and Mala, who were the residents in Tibet, but all the new regulations

---

[1] Doc. VII; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, f. 22b.

[2] *Ting-yu*/XII = January 20th, 1729; *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 76, ff. 3a-14a. *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, f. 22a. *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 2, f. 7a.

[3] *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, f. 22b; *sTag-luṅ*, f. 399a.

[4] *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, f. 23a; *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 3, f. 1b.

had been issued by him personally. As he now went back to China via Szechwan accompanying the Dalai-Lama, he handed all his powers of supervision back to Seṅ-ge. Seṅ-ge's colleague was no longer Mala, who went back with Jalangga, but the brigadier-general Mailu. These two men, called in the *MBTJ* Seṅ Ta-žiṅ and Me Ta-žiṅ, may be accepted as having been the two first ambans of Tibet, an institution which was to last till 1912. The senior amban (Seṅ-ge) was in control of Anterior Tibet (dBus), and the junior amban (Mailu) of Ulterior Tibet.[1]

The Chinese residents had a strong force at their disposal. It was about the size of this force that a long discussion took place between P'o-lha-nas and Jalangga. The Chinese commander at first had fixed it at 10.000 men. The supplies of food, fodder and wood necessary for so large a force were clearly beyond the possibilities of the poor district of Lhasa, ravaged by so many wars. P'o-lha-nas represented these difficulties to Jalangga. After a long consultation, the commissioners granted a reduction to 5000. This was still too much, and P'o-lha-nas resumed his protests and entreaties, till the commissioners saw the justice of his reasons and reduced the garrison to 2000 men.[2] This is the account found in the Tibetan texts; but the Chinese documents reveal us the surprising fact that it was all a ludicrous comedy, intended to make an imperial order, issued several months earlier, look like a generous concession to the Tibetans. This order had been given even before the news of Jalangga's arrival to Lhasa reached Peking; on *chi-hai*/VIII = September 24th, 1728, the emperor had issued a rescript according to which the future garrison of Lhasa, first determined as 3000 men, was reduced to 2000 because of the expected difficulties of supply.[3] In execution of this orders, on *chi-szŭ*/XI = December 23rd, 1728, Jalangga submitted to the emperor a memorial, in which he specified the strength and dislocation of his troops and gave a detailed account of the dispositions taken for the return march to China, which was to take place in five columns. He reported that he intended to leave in Lhasa a garrison of 1000 Chinese soldiers from Shensi and 1000 from Szechwan, commanded by Mailu, Chou Ying and other officers. A strong garrison of 1000 men from Yünnan was

---

[1] *Shêng-wu-chi*, ch. 5, f. 12b.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 315a-316a.

[3] *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 72, f. 12a-b.

to remain at Chamdo, to secure the communications.[1] So it was all settled beforehand, but the Tibetans had to thank Jalangga for the great favour which he consented to do, by reducing the garrison from 10.000 to 2000.

---

[1] *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 75, ff. 18a-19a.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

P'O-LHA-NAS'S RULE DURING THE EXILE OF THE DALAI-LAMA (1729-1735)

As soon as Jalangga and the Dalai-Lama had left, the two ambans Seṅ-ge and Mailu set to work on the military reorganization of the country. They commanded all the fire arms in possession of the Tibetan subjects to be gathered together and stored in a single place. They ordered also the departure of the Tibetan troops for the northern districts as soon as summer set in, and provision of good weapons and horses for these troops.[1] The first measure was aimed at the disarmament of the country; the other two were intended for the training and proper equipment of an efficient and reliable little Tibetan army, recruited from among the veterans of the civil war. This army in due course would be able to take over most of the duties now imposed on the Chinese occupation corps, permitting thus a substantial reduction of the latter; we shall see that this aim was reached in about four years' time. P'o-lha-nas gladly supported the efforts of the ambans in this direction.

Generally speaking, it was a period of consolidation of the new regime and of slow recovery from the effects of the civil war. After his long experience, P'o-lha-nas fully realized the importance of enlisting the support of the lamas for his government. To this end, he showered on them the highest favours on every fitting occasion. He granted to the monastery of 'Bras-spuṅs the possession of bSam-grub-sgaṅ in the sTod-luṅ valley, together with all its dependencies. Other landed estates were donated to Se-ra. The festival of the New Year (January 29th) of 1729 was performed on a particularly lavish scale, and so was the feast of the Buddha's birth in the month of Vaiśākha (fourth of the Tibetan calender). Several other measures were taken for the restoration of the monasteries in and around Lhasa, which had suffered in the Dsungar invasion and the civil war.[2] This policy of blandishments to the clergy was crowned by a state visit to the Paṇ-c'en at bKra-śis-

---

[1] *MBTJ*, f. 318a.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 318b-321b.

lhun-po (21/X = December 11th, 1729), in which the two envoys of the emperor also participated, accompanied by the Jasak Ta Bla-ma sByin-pa-rgya-mts'o and two lower officials (*ǰarγuči*).[1]

P'o-lha-nas then turned his attention to the most urgent needs of the country. He soon reestablished law and order everywhere, repressing the robber bands, which were a legacy of the civil war. The postal stage system, which the Chinese seem to have been handed over to him, was reorganized on a sound basis. Particular care was devoted to it, as it was an essential condition for efficiency in the provincial administration. The proper distribution of taxation and the freedom of trade were cared for.[2]

mÑa'-ris had firmly passed into the hands of P'o-lha-nas, who entrusted its government to his elder son Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan; about this time the latter received from the emperor the title of a first-class Jasak Taiǰi. The dGa'-bži family, however, obtained a sort of compensation; their head rNam-rgyal-ts'e-brtan, who (as we have seen) had succeeded to the Jasak Taiǰi title of his father, in 1731 sent a letter of thanks and a gift of local produce to the emperor. In return, the sovereign granted him the title of *fu-kuo kung*, once borne by his uncle K'aṅ-c'en nas who had died childless, and the office of *bka'-blon*.[3]

With the return to normality, the visits of the Kukunor princes became again as frequent as in the past. These visitors carried with them rich gifts for the absent Dalai-Lama and for the great monasteries [4] and represented thus a not inconsiderable source of income for the Tibetan exchequer. The visits became the occasion for colourful feasts and sport contests in the meadows below the Potala, and for imposing receptions in the dGa'-ldan K'aṅ-gsar palace, which was the official residence of P'o-lha-nas [5] as it had been of Lajang Khan and K'aṅ-c'en-nas.

The court of bKra-śis-lhun-po took part, on a smaller scale, in these activities. Thus we hear of a mission with presents from the Kukunor princes which was received in bKra-śis-lhun-po on 13/X

[1] *A2PC*, f. 382a; *MBTJ*, f. 324a-b.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 325a-326b.

[3] *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, ff. 24b-25a; *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 3, f. 1b. Cf. *A2PC*, f. 385b.

[4] *MBTJ*, f. 330a-333a.

[5] Fr. Cassiano da Macerata, in *MITN*, IV, p. 112.

= November 22th, 1730.[1] The Paṇ-c'en, now a sick old man, maintained good relations with the Chinese court. On 12/IV = May 28th, 1730, he despatched the *sku-gñer-c'en-po* Ye-śes-'p'rin-las on the usual ceremonial mission to Peking. The envoy was back in bKra-śis-lhun-po on II/XI = December 9th, 1731.[2]

In the year 1730 there was another Dsungar alarm. According to reports received at Lhasa, the Dsungars had violated the Chinese border and had occupied the frontier fortress of Barköl. The amban Seṅ-ge left Lhasa with the Tibetan levies and some Chinese troops and took up a defensive position in 'Dam and on the Tengri-nor. It soon appeared that the place was well chosen even for a permanent establishment; it allowed the creation of a defensive system covering Lhasa, and gave a chance of good practical training to the Tibetan troops. Seṅ-ge therefore sent a memorial to Peking urging the formation of a strong detachment of camp in 'Dam, covered by four outposts held by a dozen of men each. This camp was to be occupied in summer only; in winter all the troops were to be withdrawn to Lhasa, because of the improbability of an invasion and of the hardships to which the troops were exposed in gale-swept 'Dam.[3] On *wu-yin*/VII = August 24th, the Grand Secretariat and the emperor approved the scheme and granted an extra allowance of 10.000 taels for the Chinese troops of the Green Banners, while P'o-lha-nas was to provide for the pay of the Tibetan troops.[4] As we hear in the following year, the whole defensive system of 'Dam was placed under the command of the brigade-general Mala, who had come back to Lhasa from Li-t'aṅg.

It was about this time (first half of 1730) that P'o-lha-nas began thinking about a great project, intended to enhance his religious merits,—a new edition of the Canon. He took the measures necessary for this purpose, and after all the preparations had been completed, on an auspicious minute of the 24/VIII = October 5th, 1730, the work for the engraving of the planks was begun in the bDen-bži-c'os-'k'or-k'aṅ, a printing houxe in the neighbourhood of Śel-dkar-rdsoṅ: the spot being probably selected with a view to the facilities for wood supply. In order to secure a speedy execution of

---

[1] *A2PC*, f. 389a.

[2] *A2PC*, ff. 385a and 395b.

[3] *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, ch. 13a, f. 8b. *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 2, f. 10a; ch. 3, f. 4a-b.

[4] *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 96, f. 11a-b.

the work, P'o-lha-nas summoned a great number of skilled workmen from various regions of Tibet. With their help and the great means placed at their disposal, it was intended to finish the engraving of the bKa'-'gyur sixteen months later, at the end of 1731.[1] This short term was overstepped only by very little, and on 26/I = c. February 21st, 1732, the complete set of planks for the bKa'-'gyur was ready. In the middle of 1733 it was presented to the Paṇ-c'en for his blessing, and was then deposited in the temple of sNar-t'aṅ, where it remains to this day.[2] The bsTan-'gyur was taken in hand ten years later. According to the account found in its *dkar-c'ag*,[3] it was begun on 27/III = c. May 12th, 1741, and finished on 25/X = c. November 21st, 1742.[4] At the end of 1742 the new edition was presented to the Dalai-Lama, who ordered a set to be preserved in the Kun-dga'-ra-ba of the 'K'ruṅs-rabs-lha-k'aṅ.[5]

The foreign policy of P'ol-ha-nas scored a great success in this period. For some time his attention had been turned to the events on the southern border, where a civil war was going on in Bhutan. That country was then under the nominal rule of the *rgyal-ts'ab*, also loosely called *žabs-druṅ* (Dharma Raja of the British and Indian authors); actual head of the administration was the *sde-srid* (Deb Raja of the British). The 8th *sde-srid* 'Brug-rab-rgyas,[6] called Waṅ P'a-jo in the *MBTJ*, was an overbearing man, who in 1714 had waged war against Lajang Khan and who caused much discontent and opposition in the country. He had appointed as the 3rd *rgyal-ts'ab* one P'yogs-las-rnam-rgyal, who gave his name to the new law code compiled by the *sde-srid*, but was otherwise an effaced figure.[7]

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 340a-342b. *Index* of the bKa'-'gyur of sNar-t'aṅ, f. 55b.

[2] *MBTJ*, f. 378a. *Index* of the bKa'-'gyur of sNar-t'aṅ, f. 62a.

[3] *Index* of the bsTan-'gyur of sNar-t'aṅ, f. 7b.

[4] These dates partly confirm and partly correct those given by K. S. Ch'ên, The Tibetan Tripitaka, in *HJAS*, 9 (1946), p. 56. See also Tucci, Tibetan Notes, I, in *HJAS* 12 (1949) pp. 477-481.

[5] *L7DL*, f. 289b.

[6] It is interesting to note that the Chinese texts of the 18th century always call the *sde-srid* by the name or title Noyan Rin-c'en-'p'rin-las-rab-rgyas, modelled upon the name of the first *rgyal-ts'ab* Rin-po-c'e-bstan-'dsin-rab-rgyas (ruled 1680-1695).

[7] *Lho'i c'os 'byuṅ bstan pa rin po c'e'i 'p'ro mt'ud 'jam mgon smon mt'a'i 'p'reṅ ba* (a History of Bhutan compiled between 1731 and 1759), ff. 63b-64b, 97a-b; *MBTJ*, f. 344b. For P'yogs-las-rnam-rgyal's laws see *Lho'i-c'os-'byuṅ*, ff. 100b-114b.

As time went on, the inner opposition gathered moment; it involved P'yogs-las-rnam-rgyal too, whose legitimacy was denied. 'Brug-rab-rgyas was compelled to retire from his residence bKra-śis-c'os-rdsoṅ to the fortified monastery of Zab-don-lhun-rtse in Northern Bhutan, and to cede the post of *sde-srid* to his nephew Ṅag-dbaṅ-rgya-mts'o, although maintaining actual authority in his hands.[1]

To complicate matters, 'Brug-rab-rgyas became involved in a quarrel with the Tibetan frontier officials; but because of the rugged and impassable terrain, there was no occasion for decisive actions. When the inner opposition threatened to grow over his head, the *sde-srid* rather brazenly sent a letter to P'o-lha-nas begging him to intervene and to send an army to his help. After mature deliberation, P'o-lha-nas replied, without further committing himself, promising that he would do his best. Mere words were of course useless, and 'Brug-rab-rgyas was soon driven out of his last refuge, hunted down and slain.[2] His nephew met with the same fate.[3] As to P'yogs-las-rnam-rgyal, he had taken refuge with *bla-ma* Ka-spe Don-grub, the *dpon-slob* of sPa-gro; he died soon after.[4]

At this point the enemies of 'Brug Rab-rgyas appointed Mi-p'am-'jigs-med-nor-bu as the 4th *rgyal-ts'ab*.[5] However, the Ka-spe Lama, whose enmity with the *rgyal-ts'ab* and the *sde-srid* went back to much earlier times,[6] took the field against him. As the Ka-spe forces were weaker than their enemies, the Lama sent to P'o-lha-nas an urgent request for help. The Tibetan ruler replied with an encouraging letter; however, at first he did not think of granting armed support. But soon matters passed out of his hands. The commanders of the Tibetan frontier forces thought this a fine occasion for submitting Bhutan to Tibetan suzerainty, and crossed the border. The Bhutanese forces were not able to withstand their onslaught, and soon the united Ka-spe and Tibetan troops occupied Rin-c'en-spuṅ, the capital of the sPa-gro (Paro) region, and

---

[1] *Lho'i-c'os-'byuṅ*, ff. 97b-99a; *MBTJ*, f. 345a

[2] *MBTJ*, f. 346a-b. *Lho'i-c'os-'byuṅ*, f. 65a.

[3] *Lho'i-c'os-'byuṅ*, f. 98a.

[4] *Lho'i-c'os-'byuṅ*, f. 66a. *Wei-tsang t'ung-chih*, ch. 15, f. 9a (= *Hsi-tsang chih*, ch. 3, f. 10b).

[5] *Lho'i-c'os-'byuṅ*, f. 67a-b. *MBTJ*, f. 346b.

[6] The *Wei-tsang t'ung-chih*, ch. 15, f. 9a-b, reduces this to a question of enmity between two families, which is not wholly correct.

'Brug-rgyal-rdsoṅ.[1] But the enemy was really undefeated and remained encamped in the neighbourhood. The situation soon became dangerous for the Tibetan forces, who could neither advance nor retreat; and then at last P'o-lha-nas decided to send them help. It was a rather substantial force of Tibetan troops stiffened by some Mongol soldiers and commanded by the three *mda'-dpon* of dBus and gTsaṅ and by bsTan-'dsin Noyan of 'Broṅ-dkar-rtse (Drongtse). At their approach the enemy fled, and some of their forces took refuge in a fort called sTag-goṅ-rgyal; but soon they were all dispersed or massacred. At this moment the Paṇ-c'en the abbot of Sa-skya and the heads of the Karma-pa sect intervened with P'o-lha-nas, begging him to stop the war. P'o-lha-nas at once acquiesced.[2] He sent Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal, together with a Manchu officer, the major Ho-shang 和尙, to Gyantse in order to arrange an armistice. For this purpose they in their turn sent to Bhutan sPol-goṅ Darqan and sMan-t'aṅ-pa; and these two officers succeeded in stopping the war and arranging a truce and then the final peace.[3] The nominal *rgyal-ts'ab* Mi-p'am-'jigs-med-nor-bu sent his uncle to bring presents and to pay hommage to P'o-lha-nas. Also *bla-ma* Ka-spe Don-grub sent tribute.[4] For the moment, the latter was the actual ruler of the country. But he died in 1735, and "the people of Bhutan called back the *rgyal-ts'ab* and entrusted to him the government".[5] Thus P'o-lha-nas succeeded with a minimum of exertion in imposing his suzerainty on Bhutan, by cleverly exploiting the dissensions in the country. He obtained also a weakening of the central power in Bhutan, as the Ka-spe Bla-ma became for a time the equal of the ruler; and this superior power of the nobles as against the nominal rulers lasted till the reform of Bhutanese government in 1910. Tibetan suzerainty over

[1] Druggye-jong, to the north-west of Paro on the road to Phari.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 346b-348a.

[3] *sTag-luṅ*, f. 402a (where Ho-shang is called Go *lao-yeh*). *Wei-tsang t'ung-chih*, ch. 15, f. 9b (= *Hsi-tsang chih*, ch. 3, f. 11b). Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ rgyal stayed on in Gyantse, to keep an eye on Bhutanese affairs even after the conclusion of peace; and it was during this period that he wrote the biography of P'o-lha-nas; *MBTJ*, f. 394b.

[4] *MBTJ*, ff. 348b-350a. The *rgyal-ts'ab's* uncle, called Dam-pa-ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-c'en in the *MBTJ*, is not identical with dPal-'byor-grags-pa, paternal uncle of both the 4th and 5th *rgyal-ts'ab*, who later he became the 11th *sde-srid*; *Lho'i-c'os-'byuṅ*, f. 98b.

[5] *Wei-tsang t'ung-chih*, ch. 15, f. 9b (= *Hsi-tsang chih*, ch. 3, ff. 11b-12a).

Bhutan gradually became purely nominal, but for the moment the congratulatory envoys of the Bhutan rulers and of the Ka-spe Bla-ma came regularly to pay their repects at Lhasa on or after each New Year's festival.

P'o-lha-nas wrote to the emperor reporting on these events. His messenger reached Peking on *kêng-tzŭ*/II = March 14th, 1731. At once the emperor in a provisional rescript approved P'o-lha-nas's action and promoted him to the rank of *beile*. His elder son Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan was granted the title of *fu-kuo-kung*.[1] As P'o-lha-nas had entrusted his elder son with the government of mŃa'-ris, henceforward he is referred to in Tibetan texts by the title of mŃa'-ris-guṅ, duke of mŃa'-ris. On *i-szŭ*/II = March 19th, the emperor, after due deliberation, issued an edict to P'o-lha-nas. It told again the story of the events, how civil war had broken out in Bhutan and how P'o-lha-nas together with the Paṇ-c'en had sent messengers to quell it. The suzerainty over Bhutan was formally assumed by the emperor. Return gifts were granted to the Bhutanese ruler Noyan Rin-c'en-'p'rin-las-rab-rgyas (No-yen Lin-ch'in-ch'i-lei-la-pu-chi 諾顏林親齊雷喇布集) and special praise and a reward were bestowed on Ka-spe Don-grub Bla-ma (Ka-pi Tung-lo-pu La-ma 噶碧東羅布喇嘛) for his good behaviour.[2]

After this conspicuous success the *smon-lam* festival was performed with unwonted magnificence. Some months later P'o-lha-nas visited Se-ra and 'Bras-spuṅs, where gorgeous cermonies were held. They must have been something quite unique in their way, because Nepalese artists and woodcarvers from Śel-dkar-rdsoṅ were fetched for their preparations.[3] It was probably on this occasion that P'o-lha-nas and his son sent rich gifts and a message of loyalty to the Paṇ-c'en (20/V = June 24th, 1731).[4]

During the summer of 1731 Seṅ-ge had betaken himself again to the military zone of 'Dam and Tengri-nor.[5] At the beginning of the same year the emperor had given orders for the replacement of the Lhasa garrison, which had been on that duty already for three years. It was to be relieved by 2000 men of Szechwan troops;

[1] *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 103, f. 4b. *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, f. 25b. *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 3, f. 11a-b.

[2] *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 103, ff. 8b-9b. *Fan-pu yao-lüch*, ch. 17, f. 25a-b.

[3] *MBTJ*, ff. 350a-352a.

[4] *A2PC*, f. 392b.

[5] *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, ch. 13a, f. 8b; *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 2, f. 10b.

Shensi this time could not contribute its quota, because the troops of that province were fully occupied with the Dsungar war.[1] In the 6th month a relief of 1500 men under brigadier-general Cingboo (Ch'ing-pao 青保), the director of the Grand Court of Revision [2] Miyoośeo (Miao-shou 苗壽), and the lieutenant-colonel of T'ien-ning (Ka-ta) promoted to brigade-general Yang Ta-li 楊大立 reached 'Dam, and Mala with his 1500 veterans received his recall.[3] But as he delayed his departure, for which he did not seem very eager, the emperor on *wu-shên*/VIII = September 18th gave again to Mala the order of departure, as there were enough officers in Tibet and he was no longer needed there.[4] In the 11th month at last Mala left for China. About the same time also the Chamdo garrison was relieved by fresh troops from Yünnan.[5]

Shortly afterwards a curious accident happened in Lhasa. After the death of the old Khan of the Volga Kalmuks, Ayuki (1730), his widow and son sent to Lhasa an embassy, composed of some Torgut (Kalmuk) grandees with an escort of 300 men. They travelled via Siberia-Kiakhta-Mongolia-Western China. In October 1731 they arrived in Lhasa. They were seen there by Fr. Della Penna, who had several interviews with them through the medium of interpreters.[6] The mission was not wholly composed of gentlemen; on several occasions their ruffianly retinue molested the Tibetans and the Chinese soldiers alike. At last some of these rascals, while completely drunk, entered the house of the junior amban Mailu and insulted and beat his servants. They were accompanied in this exploit by a Tibetan, whom they had brought with them. Mailu, much incensed at the insult, ordered P'o-lha-nas to sentence this man to death by the sword. P'o-lha-nas vehemently protested because of the unfairness of letting the main offenders go free and of punishing a mere hanger-on; besides, Tibetan law did not provide for death sentence in such trifling cases. The amban saw the justice of this protest, and the matter was settled with a great feast and sport contests offered by

[1] *I-szŭ*/II = March 19th. *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 103, f. 8a-b.

[2] *Ta-li-szŭ chêng-ch'ing* 大理寺正卿. Mayers, n. 195.

[3] *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, ch. 13a, f. 8b. *Man-chou-ming-ch'ên-chuan*, ch. 25, 10b. *Hsi-tsang-chih*, loc. cit.

[4] *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 109, f. 15a-b.

[5] The *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, loc. cit.

[6] *Mlla* Penna, in *MITN*, III, p. 54.

the Torgut nobles.[1] This little incident of no importance is interesting because it had repercussions in many places: Lhasa, Peking, mGar-t'ar. It had been known even at the Chinese court that the Torgut party was composed of particularly troublesome fellows. On *wu-shên*/VIII = September 18th, the emperor directed brigadier-general Neige (Nai-ko 鼐格), the Manchu resident at mGar-t'ar, not to allow them to proceed to Tibet. If the Torguts had already come to the court of the Dalai-Lama, then the Chinese authorities in mGar-t'ar were to send them back, for which the governor-general of Szechwan was to provide the financial means.[2] But the order arrived too late. The Torguts had already passed through mGar-t'ar, where they paid homage to the Dalai-Lama,[3] and had arrived unhindered at Lhasa. They visited also bKra-śis-lhun-po.[4]

During the summer of 1731 there was another attempt at Dsungar-intrigue in Tibet. Strangely enough, the *MBTJ* breathes not a single word of it, and we have only the Chinese documents to rely upon. P'o-lha-nas had memoralized the throne, reporting that it was heard that the Dsungars intended to send back to Tibet Surja, Lajang Khan's second son, whom they had taken prisoner at Lhasa in 1717. The matter was delicate, because the son of Lajang Khan could revive old memories in the hearts of a part of the Tibetan aristocracy, and above all of P'o-lha-nas himself. On *wu-shên*/VIII = September 18th, the emperor therefore issued a rescript, in which he insisted on the treachery of the Dsungars and reminded P'o-lha-nas that the same pretext (return of a son of Lajang Khan) had been used for masking the invasion of 1717. As the Dsungars were spreading the rumour that they were despatching 5000 men to accompany Surja to Lhasa, military precautions must be taken. The Lhasa garrison was to be reinforced by that of Chamdo, and Mongol soldiers were to be enlisted. In mÑa'-ris, where several military posts had been established, a good watch was to be kept. There was no question but that the Dsungars must be turned back by force. As to Surja himself, the emperor was less definite. In any case the advice of the Dalai-Lama and of the Paṇ-c'en must be taken. Should Surja have escaped from the Dsungars bent on avenging on them the death of his

[1] *MBTJ*, f. 356a-b.
[2] *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 109, f. 15b.
[3] *L7DL*, f. 144b.
[4] *A2PC cont.*, f. 17b.

father, and should he reach Tibet with a few men only, P'o-lha-nas was to receive him in a friendly manner, to report it at once to the court, and to wait for further orders. For the rest, the emperor counted on the loyalty of P'o-lha-nas and on his gratitude for the many benefits which he had received from China.[1] Urgent orders were sent for the Chamdo garrison to march at once to Lhasa,[2] and shortly afterwards further precautions were taken for the protection of the Dalai-Lama.[3] We do not know the result of the consultations with the Dalai-Lama, and also with the Paṇ-c'en, when P'o-lha-nas, together with his wife and sons, paid a state visit to him on 3/XI = December 1st, 1731.[4] But we hear nothing further about the whole matter, and thus it must have been a false alarm after all.

The affair of Surja was apparently not unconnected with an attestation of imperial confidence, which P'o-lha-nas received about this time. On the moment of leaving 'Dam, Mala, now a captain-general of the Guard [5] with the honorary title of administrator of Tibet, had memoralized the emperor requesting that a seal of office be granted to P'o-lha-nas. The emperor, who just then needed the full loyalty and cooperation of P'o-lha-nas, ordered the Board of Rites to engrave and despatch to Lhasa a silver seal bearing the titles of administrator of Tibet, *bka'-blon* and *toro beile*, to be employed on official correspondence with the court.[6] When the imperial messenger reached Lhasa, he consigned to P'o-lha-nas not only the seal, but also a document which granted him full judicial powers in Tibet. It was the final confirmation of the functions entrusted to him provisionally in 1728. The imperial message was solemny received with a great ceremony in the dGa'-ldan K'aṅ-gsar palace.[7]

Shortly afterwards it was heard in Lhasa that, as the Dsungars were preparing a great army to be sent against Tibet, the emperor, much concerned about this, was sending a division of 3000 men as garrison to Lhasa; these troops had already started and were

[1] *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 109, ff. 15b-17a *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, 25b-26a.
[2] *I-mao*/VIII = September 25th. *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 109, f. 24a-b.
[3] *Chia-ch'en*/X = November 13th. *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 111, ff. 11b-12a.
[4] *A2PC*, f. 398b.
[5] *Hu-chün-t'ung-ling* 護軍統領, Mayers, n. 397.
[6] *Ting-ch'ou*/XI = December 16th. *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 112, ff. 26b-27a. The seal is described in *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 181.
[7] *MBTJ*, ff. 357a-358a.

marching towards K'ams.[1] This rather exaggerated information concerned of course the troops from Chamdo, who, as we have seen, had been ordered to Lhasa by the emperor. Such a large force would have presented an insoluble problem for the Tibetan capital, which was already scarcely able to bear the weight of the 2000 men quartered in it since 1728. In an interview with the ambans in the 'P'rul-snaṅ, P'o-lha-nas drew their attention to this fact and pleaded for a rescission of the order and for the sending back of the troops before they reached Lhasa. The ambans after some difficulties consented to forward P'o-lha-nas's petition to the emperor. It was sent in all haste by an express messenger, and very soon the emperor's reply was received; it granted P'o-lha-nas's demand and countermanded the movement of the troops (last months of 1732).[2] The Dsungar scare had definitely passed.

During the summer of 1732 the new commanders Cingboo and Yang Ta-li went out as usual to the fortified zone of the Tengri-nor. In the 7th month (August-September) Cingboo was promoted to lieutenant-general.[3] On *jên-ch'ên*/IV the emperor ordered the brigadier-general Li-chu 李柱 to go to Tibet to replace Mailu, who was recalled to court.[4] It was part of a greater movement in the high spheres of the Chinese command in Tibet. The Hsining commander Chou Ch'i-fêng 周起鳳 and the lieutenant of the Szechwan governor's bodyguard Chang K'o-ts'ai 張可才 were ordered to Lhasa with 1000 men each, to take the place of Seṅge, Mailu and of the Shensi and Szechwan troops of the garrison. Li-chu died of illness on the road. But Chou Ch'i-fêng and Chang K'o-ts'ai reached Lhasa in the 12th month (January-February 1733), and four months later 1000 men of Szechwan troops marched back to their country.[5]

The New Year's festival of 1733 (February 14th) was marred by a misunderstanding due to the pride and unreasonable pretentions of the amban Mailu. P'o-lha-nas at last excluded Mailu from the

[1] In a letter dated Lhasa, July 20th, 1731, Fr. Gioacchino da S. Anatolia writes that 2000 Chinese soldiers were expected to reach Lhasa in a short time; *MITN*, I, p. 140. The date is interesting; it shows that military precautions were started much earlier than would appear from the Chinese documents.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 360a-361b.

[3] *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, ch. 13a, f. 9a; *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 2, f. 11a.

[4] *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 117, f. 6a-b.

[5] *Wei-tsang t'ung-chih*, ch. 13a, f. 9a; *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 2, f. 11a.

feast, which was a bold show of disrespect. Of course Seṅ-ge too avoided participating in the festival. But this did not hinder the ceremony being held with more than the usual spledour.[1] The incident had no bad consequences and was soon forgotten.

Shortly afterwards P'o-lha-nas's wife fell ill, and all cures proving useless, she expired on 1/II = March 16th. Her funeral rites occupied a long time and were held on a most pompous and lavish scale.[2]

The year 1733 was marked by a reorganization of the Chinese military forces in Tibet. On *wu-tzŭ*/I = February 19th, the emperor informed of the death of the brigadier-general Li-chu, sent Mala, as an expert of Tibetan affairs, to supervise the change-over in the command at Lhasa. Cingboo and Miyoośeo were to take over the posts of first and second amban, and as soon as they and Mala had arrived, Seṅ-ge and Mailu were to return to court.[3]

In the meantime, P'o-lha-nas had begun to think seriously about the advisability of a reduction of the Chinese garrison of 2000 men, whose needs of food, fodder, fuel, and above all lodgings, represented an unbearable burden for the town. The economic consequences had been serious, and prices in Lhasa had soared by 50% since the Chinese soldiers had taken up their quarters there.[4] P'o-lha-nas petitioned the emperor asking for a reduction of the garrison to 500 men; the troops should also quit the city itself and be quartered to the north of it, in new barracks to be built on the Grva-bži plain. This memorial was the object of great misgivings by P'o-lha-nas's councillors: they feared that it might awaken the emperor's suspicious and lead to the disgrace of the Tibetan ruler.[5] But the result fully corresponded with P'o-lha-nas's hopes. As the Dsungar danger had faded away, the emperor found no difficulty in complying with these requests. The wording of the edict was very flattering for P'o-lha-nas: "The officers and soldiers garrisoning Lhasa were originally intended for the protection of the Tibetans, in order to repel the raids of the Dsungar bandits... P'o-lha-nas has been very active, and the Tibetan troops have proved their valour in war.

[1] *MBTJ*, ff. 362a-363b.

[2] *MBTJ*, ff. 366a-377b; *Life of the 57th K'ri Rin-po-c'e*, f. 2b; *A2PCcont.*, f. 28a; *Dad pa'i 'dab brgya*, f. 56a.

[3] *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 129, ff. 1a-2a; *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 2, f. 11b.

[4] Letter of Fr. Gioacchino da S. Anatolia dated Lhasa, September 1st, 1731; in *MITN*, I, p. 164.

[5] *MBTJ*, f. 382a-b. The mission bringing the memorial to Peking passed through mGar-t'ar and met the Dalai-Lama. *L7DL*, f. 150b.

Now Tibet is quiet and the Tibetan troops are numerous.... We think that they can suffice for the defence of Tibet." The emperor ordered Chou Ch'i-fêng to accommodate the reduced garrison in new quarters. It was to be brought down from 2000 to 500 men, and the remainder were to be repatriated. These 500 men were to be regularly replaced every three years by Szechwan troops. Also the Chamdo garrison was reduced to 500 men, and their relief was to take place every three years.[1]

In the meantime Cingboo and Chang K'o-ts'ai during the summer had performed the usual period of command in the Tengrinor zone. But before they had been there for a long time, the imperial order for the reduction of the Chinese forces was received in Lhasa.[2] If we are to believe the *MBTJ*, the two ambans were discontented with the order, and there was much heartburning among the soldiers, many of whom had taken a Tibetan wife and had built up a family in Lhasa.[3] But nothing could be done, and a litle garrison town was rapidly built on the Grva-bži (Cha-shih 札什) plain between Lhasa and Se-ra. In the 4th month Mala arrived in Lhasa.[4] Between the 10/VII and the 20/VII (August 19th-29th) the troops were divided according to their new destination, and Seṅ-ge, Mailu and Chang K'o-ts'ai with 1500 men set out on their return journey.[5] They were given a grand parting feast and a royal send-off by the Tibetan government.[4] In the 8th month (September-October) the Grva-bži barracks were ready, and of 4/IX = October 11th, the troops were shifted thither.[6] The immediate derequisition of the houses in Lhasa formerly occupied by the Chinese officers and soldiers brought much relief to the population. The city was at once cleansed and purified of the defilement caused by the wholesale butchery of the cattle which served as food to the meat-eating Chinese. To speed up the economic recovery of the town and of the country, P'o-lha-nas granted remission of all arrears of taxation still due.[7]

[1] *Jên-wu*/III = April 22th, 1733. *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 129, ff. 1a-2a.

[2] *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, ch. 13a, f. 9a; *Hsi-tsang-chih*, *ch* 2, f. 11b.

[3] *MBTJ*, f. 383a.

[4] He had passed through mGar-t'ar and had visited the Dalai-Lama. *L7DL*, f. 149b.

[5] *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, ch. 13a, f. 9a-b.

[6] *MBTJ*, f. 384a-b. During the summer Seṅ-ge passed through mGar-t'ar on his way to Peking, *L7DL*, f. 152b.

[7] *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, ch. 13a, f. 9b. [8] *MBTJ*, ff. 385a and 388a-b.

On the events of the next two years we are but ill informed. Our best Tibetan source, the *MBTJ*, leaves off at this point. The *L7DL* gives no help, because the Dalai-Lama was absent from Lhasa. The information of *A2PCcont.* and of *A3PC* is meagre and can in no way replace the full and connected account of the *MBTJ*. For many years the Chinese texts become our main authority.

On *chia-hsü*/II = April 1st, 1734, the new ambans Cingboo and Miyooseo were brusquely removed from office "because of some questions" and recalled to court. An old retired official, the count (*po* 伯) A-êrh-hsün 阿爾珣, and the Mongol brigadier-general of the White Banner Nasutai (Na-su-t'ai 那蘇泰) were sent to Tibet to take their places.[1] The new ambans passed through mGar-t'ar on the 25/VI = July 25th [2] and arrived at Lhasa during the 8th month (August-September); but A-êrh-hsün died immediately after his arrival. In the same year the Chamdo garrison was completely withdrawn, and also the garrison of Li-t'ang was reduced from 1000 to 600 men.[3] After the withdrawal of the troops, Mala had remained in Lhasa, we do not know in what capacity. He died there in the 8th month (September-October) of 1735.[4]

About this time P'o-lha-nas's cabinet of ministers received a further addition. As we have seen, at the beginning it consisted of two members (mDo-mk'ar-ba and T'on-pa); a third (dGa'-bži-ba) was added in 1731. Now it was completed by a fourth member, 'Broń-rtse dBań-rgyal-rab-brtan.[5] Very little is known him. He is probably the 'Broń-rtse-ba who in 1723-1724 was *rdzoń-dpon* of Shigatse.[6] His approximate date of appointment can be deduced from the fact in 1733 he is still called by the simple title of *sde-pa*,[7] while in 1734

---

[1] *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 140, f. 14b. *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, ch. 13a, f. 9b; *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 2, f. 12a.

[2] *L7DL*, f. 155b.

[3] *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, loc. cit.

[4] *Man-chou-ming-ch'en-chuan*, ch. 25, f. 40b; *L7DL*, f. 217b.

[5] Usually called by the shortened forms 'Broń-btsan or 'Broń-rtse-ba. He is the Pu-lung-tsan 布隆簪 of the Chinese and the Bronze of the Italian missionaries. His full name is found only in *Hsi-yü t'ung-wên-chih*, ch. 24, ff. 6b-7a.

[6] *A2PC*, f. 315a and 324b. He is probably different from the 'Broń-dkar-rtse-pa bsTan-'dsin Noyan, mentioned by the *MBTJ* in connection with the Bhutan war, See above, p. 162.

[7] *A2PCcont.*, f. 27a. The style *sde-pa* implies his appartenance to the old landed aristocracy.

he was already a *bka'-blon*.[1] His is a pale figure and seems to be hardly known to the Tibetan texts; what little we know about him we owe to the Chinese documents. After his appointment the council received no further addition, and the number of four member remained unchanged till the end of the council (*bka'-śag*) in 1959.

A piece of information of lesser importance is a state visit to the old Paṇ-c'en, performed by P'o-lha-nas with his younger son and his daughter bDe-ldan-sgrol-ma towards the end of 1734.[2] And this is all we know about Tibetan affairs till the return of the Dalai-Lama to his see.

As we have seen, the Dalai-Lama had left Lhasa on the 23/XI = December 23rd, 1728. He arrived at Li-t'ang on the 8/II = March 7th, 1729.[3] The Chinese had taken all possible care for the safety and dignity of his journey to, and stay in Li-t'ang. He was escorted by Jalangga and the greater part of the Chinese expeditionary forces. At Li-t'ang, where the Dalai-Lama was accomodated in the local monastery, a garrison of Szechwan troops had already been posted for his protection, under the command of the brigade-general Jên Kuo-jung 任國榮.[4] Over and above this, Mala and the brigadier-general Neige were ordered to remain for the moment at Li-t'ang, officially for protecting and really for watching the Dalai-Lama.[5] Mala went back to Tibet shortly afterwards, but Neige became the Chinese resident which the Dalai-Lama. Once the Dalai-Lama was removed out of Tibet, the Chinese government could safely take to task the man who had been the centre of all intrigues at the court of the Potala. The father of the Dalai-Lama was summoned to Peking for an enquiry.[6] He was presented to the emperor chained together with his two wives.[7] But the Chinese sovereign saw the inadvisability of meting out a serious punishment to a respected personage, now that his power for mischief was completely broken. And thus it is not surprising that this resource-

[1] *A2PCcont.*, f. 46a. Another early mention as *bka'-blon* (1735) is in *L7DL*, f. 178a.

[2] *A2PCcont.*, ff. 45b-46a.

[3] *L7DL*, f. 129a.

[4] *Jên-ch'en* XII = January 15th, 1729; *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 76, ff. 7b-8a. *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 2, f. 9b.

[5] *Jên-yin*/II = March 26th, 1729; *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 78, f. 34b.

[6] *L7DL*, f. 130b.

[7] Francesco Orazio della Penna, in *MITN*, III, p. 63; Cassiano da Macerata, in *MITN*, IV, p. 122.

ful man succeeded at once in making his peace with the emperor. He offered handsome presents and gave an assurance never again to meddle with Tibetan politics. In exchange for this guarantee he received the title of *fu-kuo-kung*.[1] In the 9th month he rejoined his son at Li-t'ang, being assured of the Chinese favour, and carrying with him precious gifts from the emperor.[2]

But the Dalai-Lama's stay at Li-t'ang was but a stage towards the final destination. On *hsin-ch'ou*/VI = July 3rd, 1729, the emperor sanctioned the transfer of the Dalai-Lama to the Chinese garrison town of mGar-t'ar (Ka-ta), where it was apparently easier to watch him. The garrison of mGar-t'ar was heavily reinforced, and a strict control was imposed on the Tibetans coming to visit the Dalai-Lama; they might be allowed to pass only if they produced stamped passports issued by the Tibetan government.[3] The courteous form in which the new destination was intimated to the Dalai-Lama stands in marked contrast to this careful and suspicious surveillance. The imperial message said that because of the danger of smallpox it was impossible to invite the Dalai-Lama to Peking. The emperor would meet him, when His Majesty would come to visit his outer territories. In the meantime a fitting seat was provided for the Dalai-Lama in a place near Li-t'ang, and he was respectfully requested to reside there till such time when he would be able to return to Lhasa.[4] After some delay, on 21/I = March 9th, 1730, the Dalai-Lama left Li-t'ang, and on 3/II = March 21st he arrived at his new abode, where he was installed with great honours by brigadier-general Neige.[5]

mGar-t'ar (Ka-ta) was a brand-new Chinese garrison town, and we do not know whether anything more than a small hamlet existed there before this time. Now, being ennobled by the presence of the Dalai-Lama, a mythical connection with the glories of ancient Tibet was soon found; its foundation was attributed to mGar, the great minister of king Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po in the 7th century. The mGar-t'ar monastery, called Hui-yüan miao 惠遠廟 in the Chinese texts, had just been built by order of the emperor. It had cost 140.000 taels and had been decorated by artists from Ch'êng-

[1] *Ting-ch'ou* VI = June 29th, 1729; *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 82, f. 4a. *L7DL*, f. 132a. Henceforward this title was usually conferred, as a matter of tradition, upon the father of a Dalai-Lama.

[2] *L7DL*, f. 132a.

[3] *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 82, f. 31a-b.

[4] *L7DL*, f. 131b.

[5] *L7DL*, ff. 135a-136a.

tu.[1] There the Dalai-Lama passed some uneventful years, varied only by the frequent visits of Kukunor chiefs and of messengers carrying gifts from P'o-lha-nas or from the emperor and his grandees.[2]

After four years the reasons which had dictated the removal of the Dalai-Lama to K'ams were no longer operative. The Dsungar menace was for the moment removed. The Dalai-Lama's father was no longer an element of disturbance. In Tibet itself the administration of P'o-lha-nas had striken deep roots and could be absolutely relied upon. The Paṇ-c'en had petitioned already in 1732 for the return of the Dalai-Lama.[3] Thus there was no point in keeping him away from his see for a longer period. On *kuei-szŭ*/VII = August 18th, 1734, the emperor issued a rescript, in which for the first time he gave the official justification for the Dalai-Lama's exile, viz. the Dsungar menace. He further stated that now, thanks to the exertions of P'o-lha-nas, the Tibetan army was in the pink of conditions and the country was well defended and completely a peace. On the other side the Paṇ-c'en was old and infirm; the presence of the Dalai-Lama was therefore needed in Lhasa. The emperor's brother Yün-li 允禮, prince Kuo 果,[4] was ordered to travel to mGar-t'ar for the purpose of notifying to the Dalai-Lama the imperial assent to his return to Tibet. The lCaṅ-skya Qutuqu [7] was to accompany the Dalai-Lama, and the arrangements for the journey were to be entrusted to brigadier-general Neige.[6] Prince Yün-li journeyed to mGar-t'ar, where on 23/XI = December 17th he was solemny received by the Dalai-Lama. After having received the imperial rescript, the Dalai-Lama replied with an address of heartfelt thanks and of full submission to his imperial protector.[7] The

[1] *L7DL*, f. 136a-b. Cfr. Kloṅ-rdol, vol. *'A*, f. 11a. A Chinese inscription commemorating the stay of the Dalai-Lama in the monastery was later placed at its gate. It is reproduced in the *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, Introduction (*chüan-shou*), ff. 5a-6a.

[2] A particular solemnity was attached to the imperial rescript issued on *kêng-shên*/V = May 27th, 1732, in reply to a complimentary message from the Dalai-Lama. *Shih tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 118, f. 3a-b. *L7DL*, f. 146b.

[3] *A2PCcont.*, f. 18a-b. [4] B. 1697, d. 1738. Hummel, p. 331.

[5] The second lCaṅ-skya Qutuqtu Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje (1717-1786), incarnate of dGon-luṅ in Amdo and a voluminous writer. See L. M. J. Schram, *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan border*, II, pp. 29-30; W. Heissig, *Pekinger lamaistische Holzdrucke*, passim.

[6] *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 145, ff. 8b-9a. Cf. *A2PCcont.*, f. 53a-b.

[7] *L7DL*, ff. 157a-161a. Report by prince Yün-li received on *kêng-wu*/IV = May 22nd, 1735; *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 155, f. 1a-b. *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 2, f. 12a.

prince, having thus accomplished his mission, returned to Peking, and the Dalai-Lama began the preparations for his journey.[1]

On the day selected by the astrologers as auspicious, viz. the 20/III = April 13th, 1735, the Dalai-Lama left mGar-t'ar, escorted by 500 Chinese soldiers.[2] His progress through Eastern and Central Tibet was triumphal, the local grandees and lamas vying with each other and with P'o-lha-nas's envoys in honouring the august traveller and ministering to his needs. He was met on the way by P'o-lha-nas's second son Dalai Bātur 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal; near Rva-sgreṅ, P'o-lha-lha-nas himself with the duke dGa'-bži-ba, the three ministers, the K'ri Rin-po-c'e rGyal-mts'an-seṅ-ge and a host of high dignitaries of the church and government presented themselves to pay homage to the Dalai-Lama. Before Lhasa he was met by the Chinese amban Nasutai. He reached the town on 13/VII = August 30 the and waited for a few days till the preparations for his reception were completed. On 17/VII = September 3rd the Dalai-Lama, accompanied by the lCaṅ-skya Qutuqtu, entered for the second time the Potala, this time not to leave it again except for short journeys inside Central Tibet.[3]

But under all this glittering splendour there was a galling humiliation, about which Tibetan and Chinese texts alike keep silent; it is the strict conditions under which the Dalai-Lama and his father were allowed back to Lhasa. Della Penna, in his already quoted letter of April 1st, 1741, writes that "the Grand Lama has been restituted to his former state in Lhasa, but under very great restrictions; he must attend only to his spiritual duties. His father is permitted only once a year to come to the capital, and dwells now in a village three days away from it." And indeed we know from Tibetan sources that shortly after his arrival in Lhasa, the father of the Dalai-Lama betook himself to the valley of Zaṅs-ri mK' ar-dmar, where he had his permanent residence till his death.[4]

---

[1] Prince Kuo wrote a diary of his journey to, stay at, and return from mbar-t'ar; *Hsi-tsang jih-chi* 西藏日記, published as fasc. 4 of the *Pien-chiangtsung-shu chia-chi* 邊疆叢書甲集, Peking 1937.

[2] *L7DL*, f. 163b, 166b.

[3] *L7DL*, ff. 181b-184a; *sTag-luṅ*, f. 405a; *Wei-tsang t'ung-chih*, ch. 13a, f. 10a; *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 2, f. 12b.

[4] Also Fr. Cassiano da Macerata says that the father of the Dalai-Lama, whom he met in 1741, was compelled to reside in a valley to the east of Lhasa, and was allowed to stay in the capital for a month at the utmost; *MITN*, IV, p. 122.

CHAPTER TWELVE

P'O-LHA-NAS, ADMINISTRATOR AND "KING" OF TIBET (1735-1747)

As far as we can gather from our sources, the next few years were nearly eventless. The emperor Shih-tsung (Yung-chêng) died on October 8th, 1735, and was succeeded by his fourth son Ch'ien-lung, in whom revived something of the energy and statemanship of K'ang-hsi. The death of Yung-chêng became known in Lhasa in the last months of 1735, and the customary ceremonies were performed in his memory.[1] In the first months of 1736 a Chinese mission headed by the Ta Bla-ma C'os-'p'el-dar-rgyas and Ta Bla-ma Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-'byor arrived in Lhasa and officially informed the Dalai-Lama of the demise of Yung-chêng and of the accession of the new emperor.[2] The mission brought the usual complimentary gifts from the emperor and also many presents from prince Kuo, presents which were repeated rather frequently in the following years; it seems that a real friendship had sprung up between the prince and the Dalai-Lama during the former's visit to mGar-t'ar.

The lCaṅ-skya Qutuqtu, who had accompanied the Dalai-Lama, remained only for a short while in Tibet. On 25/IX = November 9th, 1735, he paid a visit to the Paṇ-c'en in bKra-śis-lhun-po, and returned to Lhasa before the end of the year.[3] He them made a pilgrimage to bSam-yas, and shortly afterwards he left for Peking together with the Szechwan troops who had accompanied the Dalai-Lama to Lhasa.[4]

In the 8th and 9th month of 1736 the Dalai-Lama made a state progress through gTsaṅ, enthusiastically greeted everywhere by

---

[1] *L7DL*, f. 190a-b. The corresponding ceremonies at bKra-śis-lhun-po took place much later, on 22 V, 1736; *A2PCcont*, ff. 66b-67b.

[2] *L7DL*, ff. 198b-199a.

[3] *A2PCcont.*, f. 58a; *L7DL*, f. 189a-b; *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, ch. 13a, f. 10a; *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 2, f. 12b.

[4] *L7DL*, f. 201a-b; *Wei-tsang t'ung-chih*, loc. cit.; *Hsi-tsang-chih*, ch. 2, f. 13a. A memorial of Mala on Tibetan affairs and the return of the Dalai-Lama is found in *Ming-Ch'ing shih-liao* 明清史料, 庚, f. 808a-b.

nobles and priests. The old Paṇ-c'en, now seriously ill, had excused himself from attendance, but had caused valuable presents to be offered to the Dalai-Lama, when the latter visited bKra-śis-lhun-po and paid his respects to the tomb of the First Paṇ-c'en.[1] Such is at least the official account; and in view of the great age and infirmity of the Paṇ-c'en, there is no ground for doubting its substantial correctness. But it is not the whole truth. Why should the Dalai-Lama so soon after his return to Tibet hasten to make an official tour precisely in gTsaṅ and to bKra-śis-lhun-po? We must remember that at the moment of the Dalai-Lama's deepest humiliation in 1728 the Chinese had granted to the Paṇ-c'en the temporal rule of Western gTsaṅ. The Dalai-Lama was neither at that time nor later in a condition to register a protest, but he took the earliest occasion for affirming, by state progress with all the pomp of the Lamaist church, his suzerainty over the whole of Tibet, including the Paṇ-c'en's new possessions. No wonder that the old Paṇ-c'en avoided openly accepting and recognizing this, by a personal meeting with the young and ambitious Dalai-Lama.

In the meantime the new emperor had been busy reorganizing his frontier garrisons. Concerning Tibet, he entertained the project of withdrawing the small garrison of 500 men from Lhasa; but he was not so rash as his father, and, before he took his final decision, he sent the vice-president Hanggilu (Hang-i-lu 杭奕祿) [2] on a special mission to Lhasa, to investigate conditions on the spot and to advice the Chinese government about the feasibility of the withdrawal.[3] Hanggilu arrived at Lhasa in the 10th month (November) of 1736, shortly after the Dalai-Lama had returned form his tour.[4] He discussed the matter with Nasutai, and after some months the latter reported to the emperor that Hanggilu suggested the withdrawal of the troops. But in the meantime the emperor had gained a deeper insight into the Tibetan situation. He realized that the small

[1] *L7DL*, ff. 200b and 206b-216a; *A2PCcont.*, ff. 70a-73a; *'sTag-luṅ*, f. 406b.

[2] His biography in *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, ch. 291 (*lieh-chuan* 78), p. 1119a-c, in *Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan*, ch. 17, ff. 1a-3a, in *Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien lei-chêng*, ch. 76, ff. 1a-5a, and in *Man-chou-ming-ch'en-chuan*, ch. 36, ff. 1a-8b. A Manchu of the Bordered Red Banner. In the first years of Yung-chêng he was employed in the diplomatic relations with Annam. In 1732 he became provincial commander of Hsi-an fu. During his stay in Tibet, he arranged for a tribute embassy of the Nepalese kings. Died in 1748.

[3] *Ping-hsü*/IV = June 1st, 1736. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 17 f. 11a.

[4] *L7DL*, f. 216b.

garrison cost comparatively little and represented a big political asset. On *ping-shên*/IX the emperor accordingly ordered the postponement of the withdrawal for a couple of years, after which period he would take the final decision. In the meantime the troops were to be relieved at the usual interval. Nasutai was recalled to court and Hanggilu was ordered to remain in Tibet as *amban*. A general replacement of the subalterns and clerks of the Lhasa command was also ordered.[1] The new officers presented themselves to the Dalai-Lama at the end of 1737, and about the same time Nasutai left for China.[2]

It had been a wise decision. Although P'o-lha-nas was thoroughly loyal, the Chinese garrison in Lhasa was a political necessity. The Chinese paramountcy over Tibet depended in the last instance upon it. It was an important steadying factor and greatly contributed to the growing political influence exerted on the surrounding countries by P'o-lha nas and his imperial suzerain. As we have seen, Bhutan had accepted the suzerainty of P'o-lha-nas and of China. In 1736 the new 5th *rgyal-ts'ab* Mi-p'am-dbaṅ-po, who was also the 10th *sde-srid*, visited Lhasa and bSam-yas. The Dalai-Lama gave him precious presents and sent some more to his uncle dPal-'byor-grags-pa, who had been appointed *sde-srid* upon the departure of his nephew.[3] In the same year also the new Ka-spe *bla-ma* Ṅag-dbaṅ-'brug-pa paid his respects to the Dalai-Lama.[4] During this period even far away Ladakh was drawn into this political system. Already in 1732 the Ladakhi king bDe-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal had sent an embassy to P'o-lha-nas, who reported it to the emperor [5]. In the 5th month of 1737 No-no bSod-nams, envoy of king bDe-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal of Ladakh, arrived in Lhasa.[6] P'o-lha-nas reported the fact to his suzerain, who on *ping-hsü*/XII = January 22th, 1738, issued an edict of commendation.[7] The

---

[1] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 52, f. 3a-b. It must be observed that when the amban A-êrh-hsün died in 1734, he was not replaced; during the whole of the remaining period of P'o-lha-nas's rule, there was only one amban in Lhasa.

[2] *L7DL*, ff. 237b-238a.

[3] *L7DL*, ff. 196a-197a, 203b, 205b; *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 17, ff. 21b-22a; *Wei-tsang t'ung-chih*, ch. 15, ff. 9b-10a (= *Hsi-tsang chih*, f. 12a).

[4] *L7DL*, f. 204b.

[5] *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 116, f. 14a-b; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 17, ff. 26b-27a.

[6] *L7DL*, f. 223a.

[7] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 62, ff. 4b-5a; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, f. 1b.

importance of the Ladakhi friendship lay in the accurate information which the king could provide about Dsungar movements in Kashgaria. These relations continued also in the following years.[1]

The always strong spiritual influence of the see of Lhasa contributed to widening the range of the external relations of Tibet. The Volga Kalmuk embassy of 1730 had been answered by a mission of investiture sent in 1735 by the Dalai-Lama to the Kalmuk Khan Cering Donduk. In their turn, the Kalmuks despatched in 1737 another embassy to their spiritual father in Lhasa.[2] These relations continued more or less regularly even afterwards, and I may mention in passing that the influence of the Eight Dalai-Lama had a great share in the Kalmuks' decision to undertake their famous trek from the Volga to the Ili in 1771.

The Paṇ-c'en, who had been ill for a long time, died at bKra-śis-lhun-po on 5/VII = July 31st, 1737. The temporalities of the vacant see were for the time being entrusted to the administration of the finance director (*p'yag-mdsod*) of bKra-śis-lhun-po, Lhun-gliṅ Blo-bzaṅ-dge-'dun (d. 1741). Great ceremonies of mourning were held in Lhasa, while the search for the new incarnation began.[3] The news was communicated to the emperor, who sent a condolence mission to Lhasa.[4]

The financial situation of the holy see of Lhasa was at this time receiving the attention of the Chinese government. As a result of his Tibetan journey, the lCaṅ-skya Qutuqtu had submitted to the emperor a memorial on the difficulties experienced by the Dalai-Lama's treasury. The Dalai-Lama yearly incurred expenses for subsidies to the countless Tibetan monasteries and institutions. But with the annexation of Batang, Li-t'ang and neighbouring tracts to Szechwan he had lost the revenue of those places. The territories handed back to the Lhasa government in 1725 yielded very little. The Qutuqtu asked for the restitution of Batang and Li-t'ang, and stated that in any case financial help from the im-

[1] In the first half of 1743 a mission of the king of Ladakh, whose name is not given, was received at Lhasa and bKra-śis-lhun-po. *L7DL*, ff. 291b-292a; *A2PC*, f. 47a.

[2] On the Tibetan mission of 1735 see Courant, p. 135. The Kalmuk embassy of 1737 was studied by Palmov in the 4th chapter of the 2nd part of his *Etjudy po istorii privolžikh Kalmykov XVII i XVIII veka*, Astrakhan 1926; but this work is not available to me.

[3] *A2PCcont*, f. 84a-b; *L7DL*, f. 232b.

[4] It was received by the Dalai-Lama in the spring of 1738. *L7DL*, f. 242a.

perial exchequer was necessary. On *kêng-wu*/V = June 23rd, 1738, the emperor ordered an annual grant of 5000 taels out of the Ta-chien-lu customs.[1] As to the restitution of Batang and Li-t'ang, the emperor requested the advice of Jalangga, the governor-general of Szechwan and Shensi, who on *wu-yin*/XI = January 9th, 1739, memoralized the throne opposing the proposal. The emperor accordingly refused his sanction.[2]

In the 3rd month (April-May) of 1739, the Manchu brigadier-general of the Plain Red Banner Chi-shan 紀山 arrived at Lhasa to replace Hanggilu recalled to court. Hanggilu was given a cordial send-off by the Dalai-Lama, who entrusted him with some presents for the emperor.[3]

In the council of minister there was an important change. dGa-bži-ba rNam-rgyal-ts'e-brtan died in 1739 and his younger brother mGon-po dNos-grub-rab-brtan, always called Paṇḍita,[4] inherited the title of duke (*fu-kuo-kung*) and was also appointed, as a matter of course, to his brother's seat of *bka'-blon*; the new of the imperial appointment reached Lhasa at the beginning of 1740.[5] We may mention here that duke Paṇḍita remained a member of the council for more than forty years and was its leading personality; he had married P'o-lha-nas's daughter bDe-ldan-sgron-ma. In 1782 he resigned his seat and took the vows of a *dge-bsñen*,[6] but continued to be occasionally consulted by the imperial *ambans* on affairs of state. He died in 1792.[7]

The quiet and order in Tibet were so complete, and the benefits of P'o-lha-nas's efficient administration were so evident, that on *i-yu*/XII = January 11th, 1740, the emperor felt compelled to give him a high mark of his favour, by the grant of the title of *chün-*

---

[1] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 69, ff. 10a-11a. *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, ch. 525 (*Fan-pu* 8), p. 1640c. *L7DL*, ff. 244b-245a. The *L7DL* gives here an abridged but otherwise literal translation of the imperial rescript found in the *Shih-lu*.

[2] *L7DL*, ff. 253b-254b.

[3] *L7DL*, ff. 253b-254b. According to the *Man-chou-ming-chên-chuan*, ch. 36, f. 7b, Hanggilu was recalled to court in the 6th month (July) of 1739.

[4] The actual personal name is found only once, in *L7DL*, f. 261b.

[5] *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, f. 2a; *L7DL*, f. 263a, 267a.

[6] *Wu-yin*/X = November 19th 1782; *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 1166, f. 31a-b. *Life of the 8th Dalai-Lama*, f. 134a-b.

[7] The emperor expressed his regrets and sent his condoleances on *jên-ch'en*/IVbis = June 13th, 1792; *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 1403, ff. 18b-19a.

wang 郡王 or prince of the 2nd class, a rare distinction.[1] The edict announcing the new honour, along with a message returning the Dalai-Lama's compliments, reached Lhasa in the 4th month (April-May).[2] The original meaning of the title *wang* is "king", and thus it was also understood by the Italian missionaries. In Chinese official usage of the 18th century of course it indicated merely a rank, albeit a lofty one, in the imperial peerage. But nevertheless the missionaries were right. The power of P'o-lha-nas was absolute, the authority of the Dalai-Lama was in abeyance, the supervision by the Chinese nominal only. Truly P'o-lha-nas was a king, the first Tibetan king after the tragic end of the last gTsaṅ ruler in 1642.

The search for the new incarnation of the Paṇ-c'en having been brought to a successful end, in the 4th month of 1740 the finance director of bKra-śis-lhun-po applied to the Dalai-Lama for recognition as the Third Paṇ-c'en of a child born on 11/XI = December 21st, 1738, at Nan-ts'aṅ bKra-śis-rtse in Śaṅs. The Dalai-Lama's approval was granted at once, and on 6/IX = October 26th, 1740, the boy was proclaimed as the Third Paṇ-c'en under the style of Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-ldan-ye-śes.[3] On 1/VI = July 13th, 1741, the boy was brought to bKra-śis-lhun-po, and on the next day he was formally enthroned.[4] The emperor had been notified by a mission from the Dalai-Lama [5] and he too had given his approval. A Chinese envoy was present at the ceremony.

The above-mentioned mission of the Dalai-Lama to the Chinese court returned from Peking, carrying an imperial message, in the middle of 1742.[6] About the same time the *mgron-gñer* Sa-k'ud-nas, administrator of bKra-śis-lhun-po since the death of Blo-bzaṅ-dge-'dun, had also sent a mission to the emperor; it left

---

[1] Mayers, n. 18. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 106, f. 28b.

[2] *L7DL*, f. 268a.

[3] *L7DL*, ff. 267a-268a. *A3PC*, ff. 19b-20a, 26b.

[4] *A3PC*, ff. 27b-28a. *L7DL*, f. 273b. The delay between recognition and installation was probably due to the terrible epidemic of smallpox which was then raging through the country and which had necessitated the closing of the frontier to all foreigners *L7DL*, f. 266b. Letter of Fr. Della Penna dated Kathmandu, August 25th, 1740; *MITN*, II p. 23.

[5] *L7DL*, f. 272a.

[6] The envoys were the *mk'an-po* Byaṅ-rtse *slob-dpon* Ṅag-dbaṅ-lhun-grub and the *naṅ-so* Se-ra *gzims-kaṅ-gñer-pa*, the K'an-pu 堪布 and Nang-su 襄蘇 of the Chinese. *L7DL*, ff. 275a and 283a.

for Peking in the 6th month (July-August) of 1741 and was back in bKra-śis-lhun-po on 3/X = October 30th, 1742.[1] These two contemporary missions gave the occasion for regulating the official intercourse between the two sees of Lhasa and bKra-śis-lhun-po, and Peking. It had been the custom for the Dalai-Lama and Paṇ-c'en to send each a mission every alternate year, and P'o-lha-nas used to send his own envoys along with those of the Dalai-Lama. After the death of the Second Paṇ-c'en, the emperor had requested that the Dalai-Lama's (and P'o-lha-nas's) envoys should come to court every year. But this meant a heavy burden on the Lhasa government; and now the resumption of the Paṇ-c'en's missions called for new regulations. On the proposal of the amban Chi-shan, the emperor reestablished the old rule. The Dalai-Lama and Paṇ-c'en were to despatch their missions on alternate years, and P'o-lha-nas was again to send his men with those of the Dalai-Lama, as before.[2]

Another, much more important question was settled about this time: the commercial and religious intercourse of the Dsungars with Tibet. Since 1734 negotiations had been opened between China and the Dsungars. Although they did not lead to a formal peace, the result was an exchange of letters between the two rulers (middle of 1740), which had as a consequence the cessation of active hostilities and a sort of informal truce. In this exchange of letters it was agreed, among other things, that a Dsungar caravan of pilgrims and traders, composed of a maximum of 300 men, should be allowed to travel to Lhasa via Hami and Tankar.[3] The Chinese authorities were to afford full protection and transport facilities to the caravan.[4]

---

[1] The mission was headed by the *dkon-gner-c'en-po rab-'byams* Kun-bzaṅ. *A3PC*, ff. 332a and 40b.

[2] *Wu-chên*/I = February 12th, 1742. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 158, ff. 4b-5b.

[3] Tibetan sTon-'k'or, Chinese Tung-ka-êrh 東噶爾. Half-way between Hsining and lake Kukunor.

[4] Parker, Campaigns of K'ang-hi etc., p. 113; Courant, pp. 86-89. But this caravan was a special concession, and not a yearly affair as understood by Courant. — The Dsungar-Chinese negotiations gave rise, to all sorts of wild rumours in the countries neighbouring to Tibet. Thus for a moment it was common belief in Nepal that "the emperor of China intended to give the eastern half of Tibet to a Tartar king and the other, western half to the Tibetan king now reigning; and that the latter opposed himself to this decision and had assembled his army in order to prevent it being carried out". Letter of Fr. Della Penna, dated Kathmandu, September 29th, 1740, in *MITN*, II, p. 23. And that only a few months after P'o-lha-nas had received the royal title!

This stipulation was the source of heavy worries for the Chinese authorities on the Western frontier and in Tibet. A pilgrim caravan reopened the possibility of Dsungar intrigue in Tibet; it conjured up the ghost of the events of 1717-1720 and 1727-1728, and the Chinese dreaded above all a repetition. It is but natural that they were highly suspicious, took the strictest precautions, and obstructed as much as they dared the execution of this clause.

Already on *wu-hsü*/VI = July 22nd, 1740, the Chinese government prescribed the strictest surveillance on the traffic which was going to be opened; marshal Uqātu (Wu-ho-t'u 烏赫圖) was entrusted with this task.[1] A Dsungar caravan headed by one Ch'i-mo-t'ê 齊默特 (?'C'i-med) presented itself at Tankar on 1/IV = May 15th, 1741. It stayed there for some months, and on 20/VII = August 30th, Ch'i-mo-t'ê interviewed the Chinese commander Uqātu, told him that the season was already too advanced and his animals too tired for continuing the journey, and begged to be allowed to barter his wares on the spot and to return in the following year. Uqātu referred the matter to the emperor, giving it as his opinion that this was only a pretext for obtaining fresh camels and horses from the Chinese; his advice was to refuse admission to Tibet. The emperor, however, would not withdraw his pledged word, and confirmed the travel permit for the caravan. But as the whole matter gave rise to suspicions and could indicate bad faith on the side of the Dsungar ruler Galdan Cering, the emperor ordered to notify the caravan leaders that, if this time they returned home without entering Tibet, they would not be allowed to come again next year. Uqātu shortly afterwards reported to the throne that on the 18/VIII = September 27th he had intimated the imperial will to Ch'i-mo-t'ê. The later had merely averred that the Dsungar ruler knew nothing of the matter before he, Ch'i-mo-t'ê, had informed his sovereign of the difficulties to his entry in Tibet. Uqātu in his report added that he could not say whether this was the truth or not, but the Dsungars could not be trusted in any case. Upon this, the emperor confirmed his decision and ordered the caravan to be escorted back to Hami.[2]

It happened thus that no caravan presented itself in 1742. At the beginning of 1743 the Chinese redoubled their precautions, and

[1] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 119, f. 30a-b.

[2] *Ping-shên*/VIII = September 30th, 1741. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 148, ff. 7b-8b.

the vice-president Yü-pao 玉保 [1] was appointed as colleague to Uqātu in the task of supervising the Dsungar traffic. At the same time the emperor wrote to Lhasa, where P'o-lha-nas had grown uneasy about the whole business. This time at last Ch'ien-lung took his final decision on the withdrawal of the Chinese troops from Tibet; the plan was definitely shelved. The emperor instead administered a sound reprimand to the amban So-pai 索拜, whose slackness and inefficiency rendered him unable to cope with the situation, so that P'o-lha-nas had gradually risen over his head and was overriding Chinese authority. In spite of P'o-lha-nas's loyalty, this would not do. So-pai was invited to follow the administrative practices of his predecessor Chi-shan, to take a grip of himself and to avoid all indecision and procrastination.[2]

On *kuei-hai*/IV bis = June 2nd, 1743, the commander of the Hami garrison reported that a Dsungar caravan had arrived there bound for Tibet, but would go no farther. As his orders were not to allow any trade to be carried out in Hami, he wanted to drive them back. But the caravan people pleaded that their horses and sheep were too tired for undertaking the return journey, and requested to be allowed to sell them on the spot. The Chinese commander refused permission for the horses, but allowed, as a matter of grace, 2000 sheep to be sold to the garrison and population of Hami. Then the caravan turned back.[3] Perhaps this had been a private undertaking; in any case the attempt was repeated immediately afterwards in a more serious fashion, because on *chia-hsü*/VI = August 12th, 1743, Yü-pao reported favourably on the composition of a fresh caravan arrived at the frontier, and on the high quality of the wares they carried with them. The emperor ordered the caravan to be allowed to pass and to be treated (as an experiment and without setting a precedent for the future) with particular consideration and helpfulness; every possible facility was to be given to it. Yü-pao was placed in charge of all arrangements.[4]

This Dsungar caravan, the first to reach Lhasa after 1720, was evidently a very important affair, and it is indeed given its full weight in the Tibetan texts. It reached Lhasa on the 5/X = Novem-

---

[1] His biography in *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, ch. 314 (*lieh-chüan* 101), p. 1170a-b. He was a Mongol of the Bordered White Banner; died in 1756.

[2] *Wu-ch'ên*/III = April 8th, 1743. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 186, ff. 16b-17b.

[3] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 190, f. 13a-b.

[4] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 195, ff. 14b-15b.

ber 20th, escorted by Yü-pao, Uqātu (U-k'ar-tā of the Tibetan texts), by other Manchu and Chinese officers, and by *bka'-blon* Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal and *mda'-dpon* 'Bum-t'aṅ-pa Blo-bzaṅ-dar-rgyas. The Dsungar leaders (the *blama p'yag-mdsod-pa*, the *bla-ma gñer-pa* Jaisang C'os-nam-mk'a', Bayasqulang rDo-rje J̌aisang etc.) and the Chinese officials were received in a state audience by the Dalai-Lama, to whom they presented rich gifts.[1] Soon afterwards they travelled to bKra-śis-lhun-po, and at the beginning of the 11th month they visited the Paṇ-c'en, to whom they gave a letter from the Dsungar ruler accompanied by great presents. On 16/XI = December 31st they took their leave, carrying with them letters for the emperor and the Dsungar ruler.[2] They returned to Lhasa, and thence before the end of the year the Dsungar caravan started on its journey home, accompanied once more by Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal and Blo-bzaṅ-dar-rgyas, while the Chinese officials stayed in Lhasa for some days more.[3]

This caravan caused a disproportionate amount of flutter and worry at the Chinese court. Several reports of its doings and orders concerning its treatment are duly registered in the *Shih-lu*. On *kêng-yin*/I = February 24th, 1744, the amban So-pai reported to the emperor on the dealings of the Dsungars with P'o-lha-nas. The former had brought with them a sum of money as a gift from Galdan Cering towards the restoration of the temple of Ts'e-mc'og-gliṅ (Ts'ê 策),[4] which had fallen in disrepair. P'o-lha-nas had refused to allow the repairs to be carried out without the sanction of the emperor, and had shown himself not very eager about the affair (22/X = December 7th). Four days later the Dsungars requested from P'o-lha-nas a statement of the needs of the Tibetan church, to be laid before Galdan Cering, who was able and willing to give substantial support. Again P'o-lha-nas refused to accept anything from anybody else but the emperor. Upon this report, the emperor praised P'o-lha-nas for his loyal behaviour [5] and sent him some gifts of silk cloth in token of appreciation for his careful handling of the Dsungar caravan.[6] Some days later P'o-lha-nas

---

[1] *L7DL*, ff. 302b-303b. *sTag-luṅ*, f. 409a.
[2] *A3PC*, ff. 48a-50a.
[3] *L7DL*, ff. 304b-305a; *sTag-luṅ*, f. 409a; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, f. 3a.
[4] Che of the maps, on the left bank of the sKyid-c'u opposite Lhasa.
[5] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 208, ff. 11b-13b.
[6] *Hsin-ch'ou*/I = March 6th, 1744. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 209, ff. 6b-7a.

reported through the amban So-pai that, on the day before they left, the Dsungar envoys had visited him and had sounded him on the Dsungar-Chinese relations. P'o-lha-nas had replied with warm praise for the emperor and the beneficent effects of his protection. The Dsungars tried again to draw the old statesman out of his reserve by extolling the efficiency of his new Tibetan army. P'o-lha-nas retorted by attributing the armaments of Tibet to a natural reaction against the Dsungar invasion and to the favour and care of the emperor. After this the envoys left without trying further approaches.[1] Of course these conversations are known from the Chinese documents only and can be suspected of having been "cooked" by P'o-lha-nas for the use of the Chinese government, so as to show his zeal. But in the main lines the narrative must be true. P'o-lha-nas could never forget his terrible experience and his sufferings at the hands of the Dsungars in 1717. Even without his unreserved and convinced loyalty to China, there was no love lost between him and the killers of Lajang Khan. Though compelled by the imperial orders to receive and help the Dsungar caravan, he had not failed to take secretly the appropriate military precautions, and a net of military posts, under the command of his son Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan, had surrounded the capital as long as the Dsungars had stayed there.[2] He had always shown himself coldly hostile, and the Chinese had encouraged him in it.

There were some aftermaths of the Dsungar mission, which caused much worry to the Chinese. Some Tibetan lamas, who had resided for many years in Dsungaria, foremost them Blo-bzaṅ-bstan-'dsin (Lo-pu-tsang-tan-tsen 羅布藏丹怎) and bKa'-drin-rin-c'en (Ka-chin-lin-ch'in 噶津林沁), had seized the occasion of the pilgrim caravan for returning home in its train. Perhaps rightly, the Chinese suspected these lamas of being political emissaries sent by the Dsungars to intrigue in Tibet. The emperor had on principle decided that they must be sent to Peking. P'o-lha-nas, whose advice was requested, wrote that bKa'-drin-rin-c'en and the Ladakhi lamas who were with him, were old pupils of the Paṇ-c'en and well-known at bKra-śis-lhun-po. To send them to Peking would mean to antagonize the Ladakhis, whose informations about Dsungar movements in Kashgaria were much appreciated at the court. Besides, bKa'-drin-rin-c'en was over seventy and infirm

[1] *Kêng-hsü*/II = March 15th, 1744. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 210, ff. 2a-4a.

[2] *I-yu*/III = April 19th, 1744. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 212, ff. 8a-9a.

and could not stand the long journey to Peking. As to Blo-bzaṅ-bstan-'dsin, he could travel to the capital as desired. The ambans forwarded this memorial the emperor, who sanctioned the proposals.[1] bKa'-drin-rin-c'en was interned in bKra-śis-lhun-po, and Blo-bzaṅ-bstan-'dsin was sent to Peking. But on the road thither, near Chamdo, he escaped with some companions (7/VII = August 14th). The news caused great alarm in Peking, as it was feared that Blo-bzaṅ-bstan-'dsin would carry Dsungar intrigue into the important strategical region of Chamdo, of which he was a native. The thunders and lightnings of Chinese bureaucracy rumbled and crashed on the unhappy man and everybody high and low concerned with his escape. The commander of the escort was brought to court for punishment. The governor of Szechwan was ordered to hunt down the fugitives at any cost and to warn the people that whoever tendered them help, would be arrested and sent in chains to Peking. So-pai was reprimanded for having sent a mere subaltern officer in charge of the escort.[2] Eventually the incident cost So-pai his place. He was dismissed and recalled to Peking to stand an enquiry before the Grand Council. The brigadier-general Fucing (Fu-ch'ing 傅清) was sent to Lhasa to take charge, while P'o-lha-nas was enjoined to do his utmost in cooperating for the arrest of the miscreants.[3] Fucing arrived in Lhasa at the beginning of 1745 and So-pai left immediately afterwards.[4] At last on *kêng-wu*/XII = January 29th, 1745, the court received the news that Blo-bzaṅ-bstan-'dsin had been caught and was in the safe custody of the Szechwan authorities. The emperor ordered him to be sent in chains under a strong escort to Peking, for condign punishment.[5]

Perhaps in order to show to the Dsungars that he was not entirely dependent on the Chinese, but was able to defend himself by his own force, P'o-lha-nas begged from the emperor permission to station his troops in the zone of Hajir (Hajir Debter, Ha-chi-êrh Te-pu-t'ê-êrh 哈濟爾得卜特爾),[6] to build up there a defensive position against the Dsungars. The emperor postponed a decision, but ordered P'o-lha-nas to send a trusted officer with some 15 men

[1] *Kêng-yin*/III = April 24th, 1744. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 212 ff. 14a-15a.

[2] *Wu-tzŭ*/IX = October 19th, 1744. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 224, ff. 27a-28a.

[3] *Chi-ch'ou*/IX = October 20th. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 224, ff. 29a-30a. Fucing's biography in Hummel, pp. 249-251.

[4] *L7DL*, ff. 317b-318a.

[5] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 231, f. 12a.

[6] At the western end of the Tsaidam marshes.

to Ha-la-ha-ta 哈喇哈達 (Qara-qada, "black rock"; unidentified) to the north of the Murui-usu, to stay there during the summer; his duty was to gather information about Dsungar movements, extending his reconnaissances to Hajir. The Chinese government would then decide according to his report.[1] The order was carried out, and on *i-hai*/XI = November 30th, 1745, P'o-lha-nas communicated the information obtained by his men concerning the return journey of the Dsungar caravan, which had suffered heavy losses on the march. But no further mention is made of movements of Tibetan troops, and the matter was evidently dropped.[2]

To complete the tale of worry, on *jên-yin*/III = May 1st, 1745, Chi-shan, the governor of Szechwan, sent a memorial to the throne on the trail of restlessnes left in Chamdo by Blo-bzaṅ-bstan-'dsin's adventure, reported the disloyalty of a few local grandees and suggested the detailing of 1000 men to be stationed in watch-towers to guard the communications.[3] These fears were not exaggerated, because this restlessness probably had something to do with the Chin-ch'uan revolt of 1747-1749 in Western Szechwan.

Of course the Dsungars tried to draw political advantages from their resumed intercourse with Tibet. On *chi-hai*/I = February 27th, 1745, a Dsungar ambassador was received at the Chinese court. He brought the thanks of his sovereign for the support given to the caravan of 1743, and requested permission to fetch some good Tibetan lamas, perfectly conversant with the *sūtras* and *mantras*, in order to maintain in all its purity the Lamaist Church of Dsungaria. They also complained of the ill-will of P'o-lha-nas in making arrangements for the caravan.[4] The emperor replied that P'o-lha-nas in the meantime had written stating that no Tibetan lama was willing to go to Dsungaria, owing to the devastations perpetrated by the Dsungars against the Tibetan monasteries in 1717-1720. As to his behaviour toward the caravan, P'o-lha-nas had strictly obeyed the orders of the emperor; beyond this he was not obliged to go. As he was an old retainer of Lajang Khan and honoured his memory, he could not be expected to show cordiality to Lajang Khan's killers. The emperor added drily that if the Tibetan lamas were unwilling to go to Dsungaria, he certainly could not compel

[1] *Wu-hsü*/V = July 1st, 1744. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 217, ff. 10b-11b.
[2] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 252, ff. 18b-20b.
[3] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 237, f. 16a b.
[4] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 231, f. 12a.

them.[1] And as he antecipated trouble between P'o-lha-nas and the Dsungars because of this affair, he sent word to P'o-lha-nas to act with prudence and to be on his guard.[2] On *chia-yin*/II = March 14th, 1745, the emperor directly and formally replied to Galdan Cering's request, repeating his statement to the envoys and asking ironically whether they had no learned lamas of their own, that they were compelled to look for them in Tibet.[3]

Very little else happened in Tibet during these years. Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan, who was ill, returned from mÑa'-ris to Lhasa in 1744;[4] as we shall see, his overlong absence had spoiled his chances to succeed in due time his father P'o-lha-nas. The father of the Dalai-Lama died on 16/II = c. March 29th, 1744.[5] His funeral was performed with lavish pomp and magnificence, and a mission from the Paṇ-c'en took part in the ceremonials.[6] The amban So-pai informed the emperor of the event, and Ch'ien-lung despatched the *meiren-i janggin* Arantai (A-ran-t'as)[7] with a gift of 500 taels, a message of condolence and the grant of continuance of the title of duke (*fu-kuo-kung*) to the son of the deceased (the younger brother of the Dalai-Lama) Kun-dga'-bstan-'dsin.[8]

On the 10/IX = October 15th, 1744, the boy Paṇ-c'en took the vows of a novice (*dge-ts'ul*). P'o-lha-nas and dGa'-bži Paṇḍita took part in the ceremony, which was quite a state event.[9]

The year 1745 saw the final closing of the Capuchin mission in Lhasa. It had been established in 1707, abandoned in 1711 for lack of financial means, reestablished in 1716, abandoned in 1733 for the same reason as before, reestablished a third time in 1741. But the lamas now became decidedly hostile and strongly insisted with

---

[1] *Kêng-tzŭ*/I = February 28th. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 233, ff. 12-13a.

[2] *I-szŭ*/II = March 5th, 1745. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 234, ff. 1b-2a.

[3] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 234, ff. 12b-14a.

[4] *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, f. 3b.

[5] *L7DL*, f. 307a.

[6] *A3PC*, f. 51a; *L7DL*, f. 309a.

[7] His biography in *Man-chou-ming-ch'en-chuan*, ch. 41, ff. 26a-30a, and in *Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien lei-chêng*, ch. 282, ff. 34-37a. He belonged originally to the Mongol Plain White Banner; died in 1760.

[8] *L7DL*, ff. 311a-312a. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 221, f. 1a-b (*hsin-mao*/VII = August 23rd, 1744); *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, f. 3b. The new duke became a member of the council of ministers in 1763 and died in 1773. *A3PC*, f. 326a; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, ff. 15a and 17b; cf. *Hsi-yü T'ung-wên-chih*, ch. 24, f. 7b.

[9] *A3PC*, ff. 53b-54b.

P'o-lha-nas for the expulsion of the missionaries.[1] P'o-lha-nas did not wish to antagonize the Tibetan church for the sake of a handful of foreigners, and gave way. The Tibetan converts were arrested and flogged, and the freedom of movement of the missionaries was much restricted. The situation soon became impossible for them, and on April 20th, 1745, the Capuchins left Lhasa forever.[2] Twice did they try again to enter Tibet. Once it was in November 1747, when they were turned back by the governor of Kuti; they had appealed also to Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan, who refused to interfere. During the winter they secured the assent of the new king, and in March 1748 they presented themselves again at Kuti. But once more they were turned back, on the excuse of smallpox epidemic. Fr. Tranquillo d'Appecchio supposes, perhaps rightly, that the permit had been really granted, but then it was withdrawn on the pressure of the lamas.[3]

After 18 years of good and efficient rule, P'o-lha-nas was now drawing towards the evening of his life, and the question of his succession was becoming actual. P'o-lha-nas wa a loyal servant of the empire, and the emperor had to take in account his faithful services and the long years of peace which he had given to Tibet. The Tibetan ruler was therefore allowed to recommend one of his two sons as heir-apparent (*chang-tzŭ* 長子); on P'o-lha-nas's death, his heir would be granted his fathers' ruling powers and the title of *chün-wang*. P'o-lha-nas's natural heir was of course his elder son Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan, the duke of mŃa'-ris, who had proved his capacities and had gathered much military and administrative experience in the civil war and the transactions with Bhutan. But P'o-lha-nas passed him over because of his bad health; at least this is the reason he gave to the emperor. He proposed instead his younger son 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal, usually called in the Tibetan texts by his Mongol title Dalai Bātur.

The real reasons behind this choice can be guessed from what we know of the situation in 1741, as depicted by Fr. Cassiano da Macera-

[1] In a letter dated Kathmandu, November 4th, 1745, Fr. Tranquillo d'Appecchio, the successor of Della Penna as Prefect, says that the king gave him to understand that the Dalai-Lama, the Paṇ-c'en and the abbots of the three great monasteries opposed further missionary work of the Capuchins in Tibet. *MITN*, II, p. 168.

[2] See *MITN*, I, pp. lxiii-lxiv.

[3] Letter of Fr. Tranquillo, dated Kathmandu, November 7th, 1748, in *MITN*, II, pp. 173-174.

ta. According to the Capuchin Father, Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan "had been appointed by the emperor of China as heir to the kingdom in case of death of his father (? there is no trace of this in Chinese or Tibetan texts). But the latter was more attached to his younger son.... The first born was much addicted to devotional practices and, in spite of his having two wives and several children, wore the dress of a lama and showed great affection for the clergymen, at least in appearance. The younger son instead, who was already commander-in-chief of the army and head of several thousands of Tartars, had a warlike, resolute and proud character".[1] We may therefore conclude that not only P'o-lha-nas felt a stronger affection for his younger son (of which fact the *Fan-pu yao-lüeh* too is witness), but also that he believed that 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal would have made a better ruler than his brother, who promised to become a mere tool in the hands of the clergy. But in deciding on this choice, P'o-lha-nas himself felt rather uneasy about the consequences, since he felt bound to assure the emperor of the complete good understanding and mutual love between the two brothers, and of the agreement of all the ministers and grandees on the justice and opportunity of the choice he had made. P'o-lha-nas was also careful to prepare the ground for 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's selection by a marriage alliance; on February 9th, 1743, the prince married a daughter of Ts'e-riṅ-dban-rgyal, who was at the time perhaps the most influential man in the council.[2] Then, on *chia-hsü*/I = January 28th, 1746, the emperor formally appointed 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal as heir-apparent to P'o-lha-nas; Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan received, along with warm commendations for his past merits, the promotion to the rank of *chên-kuo-kung*, or duke of the first class.[3] The proclamation of the appointments and the delivery of the seals of rank were the occasion for much rejoicing and a great feast at Lhasa.[4] Nobody at that time foresaw the disastrous results of P'o-lha-nas's choice.

The long years of profound peace, which Tibet owed to P'o-lha-nas, were drawing to a close. We do not mean that there were open revolts, but a certain amount of restlessness reappeared on the Tibe-

[1] *MITN*, IV, p. 112.

[2] *Ragguaglio* of Fr. Gioacchino da S. Anatolia, in *MITN*, III, p. 251.

[3] 鎮國公. Mayers, n. 21. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 256, ff. 6b-7b; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh* ch. 18, f. 4a-b.

[4] *L7DL*, f. 330a.

tan-Chinese border. It was merely an increased activity of the robber bands so common in those regions, but nevertheless it was symptomatic of the changed atmosphere. The communications between Lhasa and Szechwan, guarded only by the small garrison at Chamdo supported by local levies, became gradually insecure. The governor-general of Szechwan proposed a rearrangement of the scanty troops available in order to obtain a better protection of the routes. But a mere shifting of garrisons without a substantial increase of the troops would not serve the purpose, and the emperor deferred any measure till the question had been studied thoroughly.[1] There is also a good deal of official correspondence preserved in the *Shih-lu* about one Riṅ-rdsoṅ-nas (?: Leng-tsung-nai 冷宗鼐), a Tibetan officer of P'o-lha-nas posted on the border. At first he was a zealous and capable commander, but later he became addicted to drink; the post under his command gave much cause for complaint, and P'o-lha-nas recalled him. But Riṅ-rdsoṅ-nas refused to hand over his command to the officer sent to replace him. P'o-lha-nas was indignant and requested the emperor to treat Riṅ-rdsoṅ-nas a common rebel and to have him executed. But the emperor was loth to precipitate a little frontier war over such a trifling question, and after causing the matter to be thoroughly investigated by his representatives in Tibet, he reprieved Riṅ-rdsoṅ-nas from death, and ordered his punishment to be decided in consultation between P'o-lha-nas and the amban Fucing.[2]

Another question which loomed up after the settlement of the first, was that of the brigand chief Pan-kun 班滾, who was operating in K'ams and rendered the communications between Tibet and China unsafe. He was hunted down by Chinese troops, all his followers were slain and he escaped to Tibet, where he laid in hiding. The Dalai-Lama, P'o-lha-nas and even the Paṇ-c'en [3] had interposed, begging the emperor to pardon the robber. Ch'ien-lung sternly rebuked the Dalai-Lama and P'o-lha-nas for their interference with his justice, and reprimanded also Fucing for having

---

[1] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 259, ff. 2b-3b.

[2] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 257, ff. 21b-22a: ch. 259, ff. 8b-10a, 19b-20a.

[3] There is an entry in the *A3PC*, f. 61b, which I take to refer to these events. The Paṇ-c'en petitioned (2nd month of 1746) the emperor and the general comanding the troops in K'ams in favour of some men of lCags-mdud charged with serious crimes. lCags-mdud is Chan-tui of the Chinese, Chandui of the maps, i.e. the Ñag-roṅ country in K'ams; R. A. Stein, in *J. As.* 1952, p. 97.

forwarded their petition. The amban was ordered to have the brigand executed as soon he was caught.[1]

This sort of general uneasiness soon spread also to Central Tibet. Already in 1745 there had been a small isolated outbreak at Gyantse where the southerners (Lho-pa; Bhutanese and Sikkimese) residing in the town had killed the administrator (*gñer-'dsin*) of the gNas-rñiṅ monastery. P'o-lha-nas had sternly punished the guilty and had handed over the southerners as serfs to the Paṇ-c'en.[2] But what was infinitely more serious was the rift, which now came to light, between P'o-lha-nas and the Dalai-Lama. The latter, now a man in his prime, was apparently chafing under the absolute powerlessness, to which the regulations of 1728 had condemned him; politically, P'o-lha-nas was everything, while he was a mere cypher. There was nothing which he could do openly in order to better his situation, and the terrible lesson of 1728 was still fresh in his mind. The only way open to him was to try to undermine P'o-lha-nas's seemingly unassailable position at the Chinese court. He sent his cup-bearer (*gsol-dpon*) Blama Grags-pa(?) Dayan (Cha-k'o-pa Ta-yen 扎克巴達顏) to Peking, to protest against some unspecified measures of P'o-lha-nas (*i-ch'ou*/XII = January 14th, 1747). It must have been a secret mission, as there is not the slightest hint about in the *L7DL*, which records only the regular biennial mission sent out as a matter of routine in 1745 and 1747 under the *mgron-gñer* Yon-tan-legs-sgrub and the *naṅ-so* bsTan-'dsin-yon-'p'el.[3] The emperor took the matter to heart. He had seen for some time the growing estrangement between the highest religious and the highest political authorities in Tibet. But as a cordial agreement between the two was of the foremost importance for the peace of the country, the emperor ordered Fucing to avoid offending P'o-lha-nas in any way and to try to smooth over the pending questions as well as he could.[4] At the same time he sent an autograph letter to P'o-lha-nas, impressing upon him the necessity of a good understanding with the Dalai-Lama, and entreating him to remember the favours showered upon him by the emperor and not to disturb the quiet of the country.[5] On its way

[1] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 267, ff. 7b-9b, 9b-10b, 10b-11b.
[2] *A3PC*, f. 60a-b.
[3] *L7DL*, ff. 322a and 340b.
[4] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 280, ff. 3b-4a; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, ff. 4b, 5a-b
[5] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 280, ff. 4a-5a.

this document must have crossed a memorial sent to court by P'o-lha-nas, which was received in Peking on *ping-hai*/II = March 5th, 1747. This memorial, which was judged by the emperor as rather confused, expressed the fears and worries of the Tibetan ruler about the whispering campaign of slander which was waged against him. The emperor placed the blame for this memorial on Fucing, who evidently had not communicated to P'o-lha-nas the afore-mentioned imperial rescript of the 12th month.[1] There must also have been some opposition in the high official circles of Lhasa, and it seems that P'o-lha-nas had taken a high hand in dealing with it. On *chi-ch'ou*/II = March 8th, 1747, Fucing reported that, acting upon a petition filed by P'o-lha-nas, he had sought out, arrested and executed one Ts'e-brtan Taiji and his uncle, the abbot of the sGo-mañs (Kuo-mang 果莽) college of 'Bras-spuṅs.[2] It seems thus that P'o-lha-nas's position, so secure for the last 18 years, was now beginning to totter. His hasty and nervous reaction to this change of atmosphere betrays the bad condition of his health. The Tibetan "king" was now seriously ill; and before the situation could mature along its natural lines, events were precipitated by the sudden death of P'o-lha-nas on the 2/II = c. March 12th, 1747.[3]

P'o-lha-nas is one of the most interesting figures of Tibetan history. Belonging to the landed aristocracy of gTsaṅ, the rank he inherited from his father was already high enough to give him a good start in life. But from this base he rose by sheer strength of will and by the clever exploitation of the peculiar conditions of Tibet and of its traditional parties. He was no outstanding genius and had no lofty patriotic ideals; he never tried to see something beyond his own domination over a quiet and peaceful Tibet. Out of political necessity, he made himself the tool of the Chinese. But he was clever enough to manage and to preserve as much independent importance of his own as was necessary to give him a real

[1] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 285, f. 6a-b.

[2] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 285, f. 15a-b.

[3] I accept the date of *sTag-luṅ*, f. 410b, which seems to be supported by the fact that the messengers bringing the news arrived at bKra-śis-lhun-po on 6/II = March 16th; *A3PC*, f. 65a-b. Kloṅ-rdol, 'A, f. 16b, gives the month only. The *L7DL*, f. 334b, the chronology in which becomes less precise toward the end of the work, does not even give the month. The *Dad-pa'i 'dab rgya*, f. 86b, has 5/II, and the same date is found in the *Autobiography and diaries of Si-tu Paṇ-c'en*, ed. Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi 1968, f. 125a (p. 249). The news reached Peking on *i-szŭ*/III = April 24th, 1747.

standing in the eyes of the Chinese and to compel them to accept him as irreplaceable. On the other hand, he took scrupulous care to offer no ground for suspicion to the jealous government of Peking.

His actions were dictated by circumstances. After its short-lived unity had collapsed in the 9th century, Tibet for the next eight centuries had been a mosaic of larger and smaller chieftainships, and had received some sort of unity only at the hands of the foreign conqueror Gušri Khan. But its aristocracy was hopelessly torn by internal feuds, and the religious element represented by the Lamaist church introduced a serious factor of complication. Besides, at one time Tibet had been caught in the conflict between two empires, the Dsungar and the Chinese, and tossed to and fro like a ball in the great game of Central Asiatic politics. It emerged as a Chinese dependency. In the turmoil P'o-lha-nas had cleverly found his way to a steady rise. But when in 1728 at last he found himself at the top, independent action in the field of external relations was no longer possible. It was absolutely out of question for Tibet to have a policy of its own. Chinese tutelage was too close, and Tibet had no material force of its own to throw on the scales, except for the great religious influence of the Yellow Church, which was not under P'o-lha-nas's control. On the other side, these very conditions formed the basis of his power. The aristocracy of gTsaṅ was deeply hostile to that of dBus. It was a legacy of the days in the twenties and thirties of the 17th century, when the rulers of gTsaṅ had dominated for a short while Lhasa and dBus, till they were swept away by a combination of the Church, the Qošots and the nobles of dBus. An heritage of hatred and mistrust was the consequence; it went so deep, that the nobles of gTsaṅ, when they came to Lhasa, did not even trust the skill of the local doctors, but preferred almost without exception to have recourse to the care of the foreign white doctors, the Italian missionaries.[1] P'o-lha-nas, leaning heavily on China, exploited in his favour these internal conflicts. He destroyed the power of the dBus aristocracy with the forces of gTsaṅ and mÑa'-ris, caused the church to be momentarily checkmated by the Chinese, and reached thus a well-balanced equilibrium. It lasted for a long time, but it began crumbling even before P'o-lha-nas's death, and was soon shattered under the fumbling hands of 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal, who possessed neither P'o-lha-nas's diplomatic

[1] Post-scriptum by Della Penna to a letter of Gioacchino da S. Anatolia, Lhasa, July 20th, 1731; *MITN*, I, p. 140.

skill nor his outstanding merits in the eyes of the Chinese. P'o-lha-nas had tried to found an hereditary rule. But here, and here alone, this disillusioned and realistic politician allowed himself to be carried away by his secret dreams. His government was based only on his personal influence with the Chinese court, on the terror inspired in the hearts of the Tibetan aristocracy by the bloody repression of 1728, and on the sullen acquiescence of the clergy. All of them were negative elements; positive factors there were none. Behind him stood only his small band of devoted personal retainers and the major part of the gTsañ aristocracy, but no great territorial backing, no traditional party, no great vested interests. He had reached the utmost that could be reached with the means at his disposal; but that utmost was low enough, and by far insufficient for the founding of a dynasty.

P'o-lha-nas was a man of cold, calculating temper. Of his military qualities we have already spoken. In diplomacy he excelled, it was really the craft which he understood best and in which he scored his greatest successes. Withal he was not a ruthless man. He suffered sincerely from the tragic executions of 1728. He was also capable of deep affection, as shown by his lifelong devotion to Lajang Khan and his memory, and by the loving care bestowed upon his own family in 1717-20 and 1727-28. But Tibetan politics were not the proper field for practising these qualities, and he pursued his aim with all the means at his disposal, fair or foul, even to the point of breaking his pledged word, if necessary.

Of his administrative methods we shall speak later. Suffice it to say here, that his rule was strictly personal; he concentrated all power in his own hands, and the council of ministers which he formed was never more than his subservient tool; it is barely mentioned here and there in our sources. By his training he had a special competence in financial matters, and we known that he paid great attention to this department, at least in his early days; for the period of his personal rule, the texts are silent on this subject. In the last period of his life attention was chiefly devoted to the new Tibetan army, which he created out of the armed mobs of the civil war. He trained, armed, and entertained this army whih loving care throughout his life, without ever having the occasion to put it to the test.

Over all his multifarious activity hung the shadow of Chinese supervision. It was always there, but was not normally felt and it

hardly ever interfered with the administration of the country. Only at the very last the amban Fucing, probably at the suggestion of his government, began tightening the screw, thus giving some more reality to Chinese suzerainty.

P'o-lha-nas's relations with the Lamaist church were always formally most correct; but it is to be doubted whether they were at any time cordial, in spite of the great religious merits of the editor of the bKa'-'gyur and bsTan-'gyur of sNar-t'aṅ. P'o-lha-nas was a tolerant man, but was above all a politician. It was an open secret that at heart he was a rÑiṅ-ma-pa; [1] and he patronized and caused temples to be repaired for the bKa'-brgyud-pa (sKu-'bum at Rvaluṅ) as well as for the Yellows (dGa'-ldan C'os-'k'or-gliṅ at rTse-t'aṅ).[2] But he did not allow this to interfere with his church policy. The same must be said of his tolerant and sympathetic attitude towards the Catholic missionaries. He was a benevolent protector of the mission, but as soon as the Lamaist church seriously began to request its suppression, he sacrificed it without a pang. In spite of this, the Church never supported him wholeheartedly, and toward the end of his life a conflict was definitely brewing between them. Relations with the Lamaist church have always been the most difficult and delicate point in the policy of any lay ruler of Tibet; and it remained to be seen, whether P'o-lha-nas would have been able to maintain unimpaired the favour of the emperor against the intrigues of the clergy. Perhaps we are justified in saying that for his fame he died in time, just when his star showed the first signs of decline.

---

[1] dPag bsam ljon bzaṅ, II (ed. S. Ch. Das), p. 166n.

[2] G. Tucci, *To Lhasa and beyond*, Rome 1956, pp. 63, 134.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

'GYUR-MED-RNAM-RGYAL, THE LAST "KING" OF TIBET (1747-1750)

The transfer of power from P'o-lha-nas to his appointed successor 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal was smooth and without the slightest hitch. First of all the funeral ceremonies of P'o-lha-nas were performed. They were on a lavish scale, and the body was cremated on a pyre of sandal-wood in the dead-field (*dur-k'rod*) of Lhasa, the Rags-'k'or.[1] As soon as they were at an end, 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal summoned a great assembly of the leading lamas and laymen, and caused himself to be invested with his new dignity, after having promised to maintain and follow the policy of his father.[2] Nor was the Chinese confirmation much delayed. The emperor at once wrote to Fucing, approving of 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's succession. He also ordered a grant of 1000 taels as a contribution towards the expenses of the funeral, and sent the retired amban So-pai on a mission of condolence, to carry out in Lhasa the prescribed sacrifices in honour of the deceased.[3] At the same time the emperor, who clearly recognized the implications of the event, wrote to Fucing expressing his doubts on 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's ability to maintain the strong administration of his father. Fucing must watch him and report on his capacities and intentions, with particular reference to his relations with the Dalai-Lama. As legacy of P'o-lha-nas's last months, these relations were rather strained; Fucing must try and effect a reconciliation. For the rest, 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal should be advised to keep the old tried ministers of his father and to continue in the old administrative methods.[4] In the course of the 6th month, the imperial sanction of 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's new dignity was officially proclaimed both in Lhasa and in bKra-śis-lhun-po.[5]

Shortly afterwards So-pai arrived in Lhasa.[6] His and Fu-

[1] *Dad pa'i 'dab-rgyas*, ff. 86b-87a.

[2] *L7DL*, ff. 335b-336a.

[3] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 286, ff. 25a-26a; ch. 287, f. 2a.

[4] *I-szŭ*/III = April 24th, 1747; *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 286, ff. 26a-27b; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, f. 5a-b.

[5] *L7DL*, f. 339b; *A3PC*, f. 66b.

[6] *L7DL*, f. 340b.

cing's joint efforts succeeded in reconciliating 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal and the Dalai-Lama. According to So-pai's report, as soon as P'o-lha-nas died, the Dalai-Lama had expressed his intention of presenting his condolences and of offering the ritual libations and reading the sacred texts for the welfare of the deceased. At first 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal did not allow it. On Fucing's intervention, however, he withdrew his opposition and requested the Dalai-Lama to perform the rites, after which good relations were established between the two men.[1]

In the meantime Fucing had taken appropriate measures for the defence of Tibet against all eventualities. mÑa-ris was the fief of Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan, who normally resided there. But when P'o-lha-nas died, he was ailing in the legs (gout perhaps), and was staying in Lhasa to recover his health. His legs gradually improved, and Fucing ordered him back to mÑa'-ris to organize the defence of that region. In P'o-lha-nas's time the military system of the northern marches used to be commanded by 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal. Now that he had to reside in Lhasa, Fucing ordered him to appoint J̌aisang Ñag-dbaṅ-dge-'dun to the command of the Qara-usu troops and Ts'e-riṅ-bkra-śis to the Tengri-nor defence system.[2] These orders were duly carried out. Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan took his leave of the Dalai-Lama and started on his journey to mÑa'-ris, passing through bKra-śis-lhun-po.[3]

After the government of Tibet had been settled on what seemed to be a firm basis, the emperor turned his attention to another matter which had awaited decision for some time. The Dsungar ruler Galdan Cering (1727-1745) had died, and his young successor Ts'e-dbaṅ-rdo-rje-rnam-rgyal (Cewang Dorji Namjal, 1745-1750) soon after his accession had sent to Peking a mission headed by his Muslim subject Mahmud.[4] This envoy requested, among other things, permission to send a mission to Lhasa to offer prayers and gifts for the spiritual welfare of the deceased Galdan Cering. The emperor

---

[1] *Wu-ch'ên*/VIII = September 14th, 1747. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 296, f. 10a-b.

[2] Report received on *jên-hsün*/IV = May 11th, 1747. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 288, ff. 4b-5b.

[3] On 19/VIII = September 23rd he had an audience with the Paṇ-c'en. *L7DL* f. 340a; *A3PC*, f. 68a.

[4] Perhaps the *jaisang* Mahmud already mentioned in 1730; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 11, f. 22b.

granted the permission and appointed the vice-president Yü-pao (the same who had escorted the mission of 1743) to discuss the necessary measures with the Dsungar envoys.[1] The death of P'o-lha-nas and the administrative activity it entailed, delayed the matter. But the emperor did not think it necessary to go back on his promise because of the change of ruler in Tibet. Mahmud had arranged with Yü-pao that the Dsungar mission should arrive about the middle of the 8th month of 1747 at Hajir, on the Tsaidam marshes, for the usual trade mart; after which, they were to leave for Tibet in the 9th month. Mahmud undertook to organize the mission with all possible speed in the short time available.[2] On their side, the Chinese authorities took care of the financial arrangements and of the supplies for the mission and its escort; 150.000 taels were earmarked for this purpose.[3]

The Dsungar mission comprised Mahmud and other three *ǰaisangs*, three chief lamas and several lesser ones, and 300 men.[4] It is surprising to see a Muslim in charge of a Lamaist mission, whose purpose was in the main religious; it is a striking example of the good understanding reigning between the various religions in Central Asia in this period. Of course the utmost care was devoted to the organization of a strong escort and to the strict surveillance on the route and the activities of the mission. Fucing had submitted to the throne proposals for elaborate precautions both on the road and on the frontier, including the mobilization of 15.000 men of Tibetan and Chinese troops. The emperor could not give his sanction to these extravagant plans, but ordered 1000 men to be kept in readiness. 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal was to be kept informed, and all steps were to be taken in consultation with him. Yü-pao was appointed, as in 1743, to supervise the whole movement; he was ordered to exercise the utmost care and to take all necessary precautions.[5]

The mission lost much time with the difficult crossing of the

---

[1] *Chia-yin*/I = March 4th, 1747. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 283, ff. 9a-10a.

[2] Memorial received on *i-ch'ou*/IV = May 14th 1747. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu* ch. 288, ff. 13b-15a.

[3] Memorial of the governor of Kansu, received on *chia-hsü*/IV = May 23rd, 1747. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 288, ff. 33a-35a.

[4] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 291, ff. 13a-14a.

[5] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 292, ff. 6b-8a; ch. 293, f. 6a-b; ch. 298, ff. 12b-14a. *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, f. 6a.

Tarim, and this delay excited Chinese suspicions. The emperor gave orders to hurry the Dsungars away from Lhasa immediately after they had participated in the *smon-lam* festival in the first fortnight of 1748.[1] But apparently Yü-pao did not judge it expedient to show such an unseemly haste. The Dsungars were met in the Nag-c'u region by duke Paṇḍita and Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal; they escorted the mission to Lhasa, where they arrived in the last days of the 12th month (end of January 1748). A great feast was given in their honour, and a few days afterwards they took part in the *smon-lam* ceremonies. The Dsungar envoys offered precious gifts on behalf of their ruler, among which stood out a gold lump (*t'igs-pu*) of 163 ounces. Two lamas of the mission received the mystic initiation from the Dalai-Lama. The party was lavishly entertained in the dGa'-ldan-k'aṅ-gsar palace by 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal, who showed himself on this occasion as a liberal host.[2] Except for two lamas, who remained in Lhasa to continue their studies under the Dalai-Lama, the mission, accompanied by Yü-pao, journeyed to bKra-śis-lhun-po, to pay their homage to the young Paṇ-c'en. They reached the great monastery on the 11/II = March 9th, 1748, and left again a few days later, after having had an audience with the Paṇ-c'en and having presented the gifts they had brought for him.[3] Back in Lhasa, they could not be received again by the Dalai-Lama, but were nevertheless entertained at a great feast given in their honour. And after this the Dsungars, always accompanied by Yü-pao and escorted by Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal as far as the Nag-c'u, left on their journey home.[4]

The reason why the Dalai-Lama could not grant a last audience to the Dsungar mission was a terrible epidemic of smallpox. This all too frequent scourge of Tibet had broken out again. This time it was not the "diplomatic" disease so much heard of at the time of the civil war, but a severe outburst which began during the New Year's festival and was obviously facilitated by the insanitary crowding of religious and lay pilgrims, who took part in the ceremonies. 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal advised the Dalai-Lama to retire to Rva-sgreṅ, away from the dangers of the capital. But the Dalai-

---

[1] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 298, ff. 14a-15a. Imperial rescript of *chi-mao*/X = November 24th, 1747; *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 301, ff. 10a-11b.

[2] *L7DL*, ff. 342b-345b; *sTag-luṅ*, f. 411a; *Dad pa'i 'dab brgya*, f. 88b.

[3] *A3PC*, ff. 70b-71a.

[4] *L7DL*, f. 345b; *sTag-luṅ*, f. 411b; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, f. 6a.

Lama steadfastly refused; he merely took the precaution of shutting himself in the Potala, where he spent his time meditating and offering prayers for the cessation of the scourge.[1] This retirement caused some uneasiness in Peking. It was remembered there how once another Dalai-Lama, the Great Fifth, had retired for meditation, never to emerge again, while a craftly regent substituted another person in his place. The emperor ordered the ambans So-pai and Fucing to be on the alert and to watch events closely.[2] But this time the mistrust of the emperor was dispelled first by the harsh reality, and eventually by the gradual abating of the plague.

The Dsungar mission left in its trail the usual worries and suspicions. It is true that this time the Chinese authorities felt fairly sure of the Tibetan government. Their preoccupations on this score were limited to the possible reactions on the Tibetan situation of the serious and long rebellion in Chin-ch'uan, the "land of the gold river" in Western Szechwan. This revolt lasted from 1747 to 1749 and was at last suppressed not so much by force of arms, as by the overpowering influence of the fearless personality of Yüeh Chung-ch'i. An ominous peculiarity had been the great part played by the local lamas in organizing resistance to the imperial troops.[3] But the unfailing watchfulness of the Chinese authorities prevented any playing over of the Chin-ch'uan revolt into Tibet. The worries of the Chinese government this time concerned more the Dsungar mission itself. It was strongly suspected that its main purpose had been that of spying out conditions in Tibet. And there was therefore a big alarm, when the report was received in Peking that on the road taken by the returning Dsungars there were to be found traces of great body of men, numbering about 1000. This caused a great deal of correspondence and investigations, but finally proved to have been a mare's nest. The rumours and the subsequent scare had been wholly unfounded.[4]

Besides this alarm, there was also a complaint lodged by 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal about the financial burden which this mission had

---

[1] *L7DL*, ff. 345a-b and 350b.

[2] *Kuei-mao*/III = April 16th, 1748. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 311, ff. 6b-7a.

[3] E. Haenisch, Die Eroberung des Goldstromlandes in Ost-Tibet, in *Asia Major* X (1935), pp. 267-279. Hummel, pp. 44-45, 958-959. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 299, ff. 23a-24a; ch. 305, ff. 24a-25a; ch. 309, ff. 45-47b, 51a-52a.

[4] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 322, ff. 24b-25b, 25b-26a, 26a-27a, 28a-29a; ch. 323, ff. 12a-13b, 13b-14b; ch. 324, ff. 35b-36b.

placed on the country. We must remember that while in Tibetan territory the Dsungar mission travelled at the expenses of the Tibetan government. It was evident that, all things taken into account, these missions presented more drawbacks than advantages. The emperor at any rate took pains to reassert by an edict the standing prohibition of Dsungar intercourse with Tibet, stressing the fact that the last two missions had been of an exceptional nature only, and had been permitted as an act of grace granted for very special reasons.[1] 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal was rewarded with gifts of silk cloth for him and for his ministers. On this occasion we meet again with the names of all of P'o-lha-nas's old officials, such as Paṇḍita, Ts'e-riṅ-dban-rgyal, Sri-gcod-ts'e-brtan etc.[2] ; we gather from this document that 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal had indeed maintained P'o-lha-nas's men at their posts, as he had been advised to do by China. A little later the order prohibiting intercourse with the Dsungars was made even more stringent, and the ambans were directed to cooperate with 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal to see that no Dsungar could enter Tibet.[3]

After the mission of 1747/8, as after that of 1743, the Dsungar ruler tried again to obtain concessions from China concerning the relations with the Lamaist church of Tibet. On *wu-wu*/I = February 20th, 1750, a Dsungar embassy begged the emperor that twenty or thirty men should be allowed to travel every year to Lhasa, and requested permission to fetch some Tibetan lamas to serve in the Dsungar temples. The emperor flatly refused to grant the first request. As to the second, either ironically or seriously he put forward a counter-proposal: the Dsungars should sent ten or twenty of their most learned lamas to undergo a course of training of three or four years in one of the great Tibetan monasteries at Peking, after which they would be able to take proper care of the Lamaist church in Dsungaria.[4] The matter rested at this point. Cewang Dorji Namjal was deposed and blinded in the summer of 1750, and when his successor repeated the request, the outbreak in Lhasa had given quite another turn to the events.

In this year 1748 a movement of officials took place in Tibet.

---

[1] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 314, ff. 8b-9b.

[2] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 314, ff. 9b-10a.

[3] *Ting-hai*/X = November 26th, 1748. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 326, ff. 19b-20a.

[4] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 356, ff. 17b-20a.

Fucing went back to China (in the 3rd month = April). So-pai too was recalled, but could not actually leave till his successor Labdon (La-pu-tun 拉布敦)[1] reached Lhasa; it was only in the 10th month (November) that he could pay his parting visit to the Dalai-Lama.[2] For the rest of this year there is little to notice, except perhaps a state visit of the usual kind payed by 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal and his ministers to the Paṇ-c'en (5th and 6th months = June and July),[3] and for huge hunting expeditions which the young king led, in 1748 as well as in the following two years, in the northern part of the country with a terrible slaughter of game, which scandalized an orthodox Buddhist like Ts'e-riṅ-dban-rgyal.[4]

It was probably about this time that the emperor allowed himself to be cajoled into a very foolish step. Acting upon a memorial submitted by 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal, he consented to the practical withdrawal of the Chinese garrison of Lhasa. 400 soldiers were recalled to China, and only a small personal escort of 100 men remained with the ambans.[5] From every conceivable point of view it was a grievous mistake. Experience had taught that only an adequate, even if small, garrison in Lhasa could effectively back the authority of the ambans. Besides, the emperor should have remembered the evil effects of Yung-chêng's order of withdrawal in 1723.

But for the moment there seemed to be little occasion for worrying. The year 1749 began serenely and calmly, with the usual fervent religious life going on in the capital and in the greatest monasteries. The Paṇ-c'en solemnly visited the Dalai-Lama at Lhasa. This visit, carried out with the gorgeous ceremonial which is characteristic of Lamaism, is described in detail in the Tibetan texts, but there is no point in fatiguing the reader with these descriptions, which are so frequent and so monotonously alike. Suffice it to say that on the invitation of the Dalai-Lama and of 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal, the young Paṇ-c'en left bKra-śis-lhun-po on the 19/III = c. May 14th

[1] A Manchu of the Plain Red Banner. His biography in *Man-chou-ming-ch'ên-chuan*, ch. 36, ff. 56b-60a, in *Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan*, ch. 19, f. 6a-b, in *Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien lei-chêng*, ch. 348, ff. 31a-32b, and in *Ch'ing-shih-kao, lieh-chuan* 99, pp. 1165c-1166a.

[2] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 311, f. 7a-b; ch. 322, ff. 26a-27b. *L7DL*, f 354a.

[3] *A3PC*, ff. 72a-74a.

[4] *sTag-luṅ*, f. 413a-b.

[5] The document has not been included in the *Shih-lu* nor in *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*. But see *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 377, f. 2a; *Shêng-wu-chi*, ch. 5, f. 13a; and the stray references in Doc. VIII.

by the usual route of the Karo-la, arrived in Lhasa on the 10/IV = c. May 25th, was lavishly entertained by 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal, met the Dalai-Lama on the 15/IV = c. May 30th, left on the 29/IV = c. June 13th by the Yaṅs-pa-can route, and was back in bKra-śis-lhun-po on the 15/V = c. June 29th.[1]

But shortly afterwards the horizon began to cloud. 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal addressed to the Chinese government, through the amban Labdon, a petition concerning those parts of Tibet which had been taken under direct Chinese administration during the K'ang-hsi period; he applied for permission to sent to these regions, still deeply influenced by the various Red sects, some lamas from the great monasteries, in order to spread there the teachings of the dGe-lugs-pa school. This proposal awakened at once the suspicions of the *Li-fan-yüan* (Mongolian Superintendency,) who scented under it an attempt at regaining political influence in those territories. The emperor reserved his reply and ordered a supplementary investigation, which was a way of allowing the matter to drop without a formal refusal.[2] But once awakened, the emperor's mistrust grew apace. Labdon was replaced by the old amban Chi-shan, who was reputed to have more experience of things Tibetan.[3] He evidently was charged with the particular task of keeping 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal under observation and to report to the throne on the trend of Tibetan politics.

When he arrived in Tibet, he found that 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal was on bad terms with his minister and brother-in-law duke Paṇḍita, whose little son he had taken away, presumably as a kind of hostage. Paṇḍita secretly approached the Chinese envoy, to whom he gave his own version of the quarrel and his not very flattering appreciation of 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's character. Chi-shan was of course influenced by what Paṇḍita told him, the more so because the dGa'-bži-ba family was particularly trusted and supported by the Chinese government.[4] Accordingly, his first memorial was rather

[1] *A3PC*, ff. 79b-90b; *L7DL*, ff. 358b-360a.

[2] *Hsin-chou*/VI = August 7th, 1749. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 343, 19a-20a.

[3] *L7DL*, f. 362a. Till April 1747 Chi-shan had been governor of Szechwan, where he had signally failed to stamp out the Chin-ch'uan rebellion in its beginnings. But evidently he had not fallen in disgrace on this account.

[4] In this same year 1748 the emperor granted to dGa'-bži-ba rNam-rgyal-ts'e-brtan's son Pa-saṅs-ts'e-riṅ the rank of a first-class *taiji*; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, f. 6b. Later he was appointed *mda'-dpon* of dBus; *Hsi-yü T'ung-wên-chih*, ch. 24, f. 10b.

unfavourable: 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal was very proud and obstinate; his subjects were already grumbling under his oppressive rule, and the Dalai-Lama simply could not stand the sight of him. The discontent was only too likely to increase. Chi-shan suggested that Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan be recalled from his mÑa'-ris fief to Lhasa and be given a share in the government, in order to divide and weaken 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's power; the Dalai-Lama was to be sent again to mGar-t'ar to keep him out of the strife. These proposals were hardly workable, and the emperor sharply rebuked Chi-shan, telling him to confine himself to observing and reporting sober facts, and to leave to His Majesty the care of settling the Tibetan question.[1] At the same time the emperor took exception to the fact that there was now only one amban in residence at Lhasa; he prescribed the revival of the old rules about the double ambanship. Fucing, at that time holding a post in Kansu, was promoted to brigadier-general and was sent back to Tibet as Chi-shan's colleague.[2]

Upto this time the emperor was not inclined to dramatize the matter. In his considered instructions to the Grand Council, he announced his decision to overlook 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's inconsiderate behaviour on account of his youth and inexperience, and of his father's merits; this decision was to communicated to him by the amban. Still, it was advisable to take some precautions, chiefly because the Chin-ch'uan rebellion had kept Tibet in a state of latent tension. The lCaṅ-skya Qutuqtu too, on whose advice the emperor laid much store, advised caution. Chi-shan was ordered to given his whole attention to the matter, collaborating with Fucing as soon as the latter arrived in Tibet. To provide them with moral and material support and with an instance nearer to Lhasa than faraway Peking, the ambans were ordered to keep in touch with Yüeh Chung-ch'i, the old warrior who, after a long period of disgrace and after his brilliant action in finishing the Chin-ch'uan war, had been appointed again to Szechwan as provincial commander. All documents to the court were to pass through his hands and those of the governor-general of Szechwan, the Manchu duke Cereng (Tib. Ts'eriṅ, Chin. Ts'e-leng 策楞).[3]

[1] *I-wei* X = November 29th, 1749. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 351, ff. 6b-7b. *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch 18, f. 6b.

[2] Same date as preceeding. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 351, ff. 7b-8a. Hummel, p. 250.

[3] *Wu-hsü*/X = December 2nd, 1749. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 351, ff. 10b-

Step by step the situation grew more tense. 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal began showing his hand. He was aiming against his elder brother Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan, who was peaceably governing his territory of mÑa'-ris. Elder brothers, who have been passed over in the succession, even if unambitious, are always a thorn in the side of young uncontrolled rulers. No wonder that 'Gyud-med-rnam-rgyal was bent on eliminating his brother. Nor was this his first attempt. Already in 1748 he intended to send an army against his brother, and reluctantly gave up his attempt in the face of the resolute opposition of Lama [Ñag-dbaṅ]Byams-pa, duke Paṇḍita and Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal.[1] Now he took it up again, but moving more varily. He began by forestalling any possible appeal of Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan to Peking: he accused him of oppressing the monasteries of mÑa'-ris, plundering the traders and cutting the caravan routes to Central Tibet. He, 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal, was therefore preparing troops in order to protect the monasteries, appealing at the same time to his suzerain. The accusation was very grave; it amounted to a charge of rebellion. But the emperor was not taken in so easily. His first reaction was heavy misgivings about 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's motives; as he was known to be cruel and overbearing, was he perhaps trying to get rid of his brother through Chinese agency? Anyhow, the matter required careful handling. The emperor ordered Chi-shan to send a trusted officer to Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan to investigate the truth on the spot. The officers in Szechwan, on the other side, saw trouble ahead; in forwarding these letters, Yüeh Chung-ch'i had said as much, and had discussed the possibility of removing the Dalai-Lama to a safe place, for example to the garrison town of Chamdo, away from the hotbed of intrigues in Lhasa.[2] But the emperor decided that it was not advisable to exile the Dalai-Lama again. He gave orders to summon Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan to Lhasa, to refute the charges brought against him by his brother and to justify himself before the ambans. 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal was rebuked for his unauthorized troops movements, reminded of his father's loyal behaviour, and ordered to keep quiet and to send some officers of his to escort the

13a. On Yüeh Chung-chi's activity in this period see Hummel, p. 959, The biography of duke Cereng (d. 1757) is in *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, ch. 314 (*lieh-chüan* 101). pp. 1169c-1170a; cfr. Hummel, p. 73.

[1] *sTag-luṅ*, f. 413a.

[2] *I-yu*/XII = January 18th, 1750; *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 354, ff. 14a-17b. *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, ff. 6b-7a.

Chinese official despatched to Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan. The rescript impressed 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal with the fact that the emperor alone was entitled to judge between him and his brother.[1]

But for the moment 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's clever diplomacy placed him in the advantage. On 5/IX = October 15th, 1749, after his return from dGa'-ldan to Lhasa, he visited the amban Chi-shan, paid his respects to him, flattered him and offered him many presents. Chi-shan was outwardly very reserved; but he accepted 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's presents in order not to offend him, and it was noticeable that his hostility was somewhat allayed.[2] The emperor was quite a different proposition; with his innate astuteness he saw through the game. But surprisingly enough he took no definite action; he fondly hoped that Fucing's arrival would put matters right.[3] As to Chi-shan, the emperor was lenient towards the old amban and fully realized his difficulty in getting exact information, surrounded as he was by 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's followers. But Chi-shan's continuous wavering and evident nervousness were difficult to understand.[4] So much was certain, exact information was the most urgent need. As Chi-shan was obviously incapable of supplying it, the emperor recalled him and sent Labdon in his place.[5]

Of course these changes of personnel took time to be carried out, and the course of events was too swift. Although nearly every imperial rescript admonished and entreated 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal to keep quiet, he only persisted on his course. On *hsi-yu*/I = February 23rd, 1750, a memorial from 'Gyur-med rnam-rgyal was received at court, in which he accused his brother of having occupied with 700 soldiers a town on the border of gTsaṅ and mÑa'-ris. The emperor replied, advising 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal not to drive his brother to desperate steps, such as fleeing to Dsungaria, but to allow him to come to Lhasa to justify himself; an imperial arbitrator had already been appointed for this purpose.[6]

Shortly afterwards Cereng and Yüeh Chung-ch'i memorialized

---

[1] Same date. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 354, ff. 17b-20a.

[2] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 354, ff. 20b-22a.

[3] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 355, ff. 14a-15a.

[4] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 355, ff. 15a-18a.

[5] *I-mao*-I = February 17th, 1750. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 356, ff. 11b-12b, 12b-13a.

[6] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 357, ff. 1b-3b.

the throne, asking for permission to lead 3000 men to Tibet to settle the matter by drastic means, going even as far as the execution of 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal; but the emperor was loth to resort to such extreme measures.[1] This continuous procrastination could have but one result. 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal was led to believe that the emperor would acquiesce in the fait accompli, and carried out his scheme to the bitter end. Probably an energetic action on the part of the Chinese government would yet have saved Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan. Such as they were, the emperor's advice, objurgations and entreaties were absolutely useless. The Dalai-Lama had tried to mediate between the two brothers for the sake of the quiet and welfare of Tibet. He planned to send to mÑa'-ris a high lama with a letter for Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan, but 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal did not allow the envoy to pass. The Dalai-Lama then wrote to the Paṇ-c'en to try and help the messenger to go through. The Paṇ-c'en apparently did not do so, but on 3/XI = December 12th he wrote directly to 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal, in a last attempt at appeasement; but this effort too was of no avail.[2]

On 18/XII = January 25th, 1750, poor Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan died in mÑa'-ris, without even having received the Chinese summons to Lhasa.[3] His demise is shrouded in mystery. 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal tried to give out that he had died of illness, and for the moment the Chinese court seemed to accept this version. After the upheaval of 1750 it transpired that Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan's death had been violent; he had been cut down by some soldiers sent by his brother. But for the moment 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal upheld his farce. He even induced, by guile or force, the Dalai-Lama and the Paṇ-c'en to hold great ceremonies for the deceased during the New Year's festival (February 7th) of 1750. He was brazen enough to preside as the chief mourner at the rites held in Lhasa, after which he offered a funeral banquet![4]

If the Dalai-Lama and the Paṇ-c'en had meekly acquiesced to the will of the fratricide, he met with resistance in an unexpected quarter. The 55th K'ri Rin-p'o-c'e Ñag-dbaṅ-nam-mk'a'-

---

[1] *Kuei-yu*/I = March 7th, 1750. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 358, f. 10b.

[2] *L7DL*, ff. 364b-365a; *A3PC*, f. 93a.

[3] The exact date is given in *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 358, f. 10b. Cf. *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, f. 7a.

[4] *L7DL*, f. 365b; *A3PC*, f. 94a.

bzaṅ [1] had been invited by 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal first to practise magic for the ruin of Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan, and then, after the sad end of the prince, to offer gratulatory gifts (*legs-'bul*). He firmly refused to do either thing. This refusal was more than 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal would brook. With the unwilling consent of the Dalai-Lama, the young ruler pronounced the deposition of the K'ri Rin-po-c'e. The latter's attendants wanted him to offer resistance; but he refused to become the cause of a conflict and abandoned his see without opposition, amidst the sincere regret of the monks. He retired to the quarters in dGa'-ldan intended for the monks of T'e-bo in Eastern Tibet (T'e-bo-k'ams-ts'aṅ). Soon afterwards he died, hardly of a natural death.[2] The 56th K'ri Rin-po-c'e Blo-bzaṅ-dri-med [3] was appointed in his place.

After having eliminated his brother, 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal tried also to get rid of the murdered man's two sons, who were then in gTsaṅ. He went there himself with his soldiers and succeeded in getting hold of the elder of the two brothers, P'un-ts'ogs-dbaṅ-po.[4] He quietly had the youth killed and gave out that he had fled away. But the younger son 'Gyur-med-dbaṅ-rgyal evaded his grasp and took refuge with the Paṇ-c'en becoming a monk in bKra-śis-lhun-po. Not even 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal would dare to violate that sanctuary, and 'Gyur-med-dbaṅ-rgyal was secure there.[5] But if he had saved his life, he did not save his inheritance. The news of Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan's death, reported by Chi-shan, had reached Peking on *chi-mao*/II = March 13th, 1750. The first question that arose was the appointment of a new chief for mÑa'-ris. Two courses were possible: either to appoint 'Gyur-med-dbaṅ-rgyal as his father's successor, or to abolish this semi-independent governorship altogether. The latter course was strongly advocated by 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal; he applied for the guardianship of his nephew, which meant practically the annexation of mÑa'-ris. The emperor saw the importance of a well-considered deliberation and did not think the matter urgent. He reserved his decision, and in the meantime he directed Fucing and Labdon to act according

[1] B. 1690, on the see since 1746. His biography is vol. *Ta* of the collection.

[2] *Life of the 55th K'ri Rin-po-c'e*, f. 12a-b; *L7DL*, ff. 374b and 375b.

[3] B. 1683, on the see 1750-1757, date of death unknown. His biography is vol. *T'a* of the collection.

[4] Also called P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal; *Dad pa'i 'dab brgya*, f. 61a.

[5] *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, f. 7b.

to circumstances and to exploit any favourable occasion that might arise.[1] This meant giving wide powers to the men on the spot and shifting the responsibility on their shoulders,—perhaps a not unwise step to take. But the emperor's slowness and dilatoriness were not to the taste of 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal. On *ping-yin*/III = April 21st, he petitioned the emperor, requesting to be allowed to send his own son Dar-rgyas-ts'e-riṅ to occupy mÑa'-ris.[2] Again the emperor gave no definite reply, and we know from following events that 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal took the law into his own hands and occupied mÑa'-ris without further ado.

As to the circumstances of the death of Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan, in a secret rescript to the Grand Council the emperor expressed his doubts about its being due to natural causes. But at that distance it was difficult to form a judgment. What had become abundantly clear was that old Chi-shan was useless as news reporter, and that it was high time that Fucing and Labdon took his place.[3] The change had already taken place when the emperor was writing. Fucing had been in Lhasa since the 12th month (January), and Labdon arrived there shortly after New Year's day.[4]

It cannot be denied that Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan's death simplified the situation. But the emperor took a wrong view of this event; he interpreted it as the final solution, right or wrong, of the knotty situation in Tibet. Accordingly, he countermanded the movements of troops started on their own responsibility by the Szechwan authorities, and ordered the men back to their garrisons.[5] For the same reason he denied his approval to a proposal by Labdon to increase the Lhasa garrison.[6] That the emperor really believed the situation to be stabilized, is shown by the willing consent which he gave about this time to the wedding plans of 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal. The latter had insisted with the Chinese court in order to get their approval for his marriage, already arranged in the lifetime of P'o-lha-nas, with the elder daughter of the Čingwang Wangcuk (Wang-shu-k'o 旺淑克) of Kukunor.[7] There was a hitch now,

---

[1] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 358, ff. 8a-10a, 10b-12a.
[2] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 361, ff. 11b-12a.
[3] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 358, ff. 12a-13b.
[4] *L7DL*, ff. 366a and 375a.
[5] *Kuei--szŭ*/II = March 27th, 1750; *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 359, ff. 12b-13a.
[6] Same date as preceeding; *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 359, f. 13a-b.
[7] He was a grand-nephew of Caγan Danjin, whom he succeeded in 1735;

because the Čingwang refused to give away his elder daughter and offered instead the younger in marriage. The emperor arranged matters in such a way, that the elder daughter bSam-grub-sgrol-ma was to marry 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's son—a change for which no apparent reason can be seen.[1] But the marriage did not place. Anticipating on the events, we may here complete the tale. Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal and *mgron-gñer* Pad-ts'al Ts'e-bdag were sent to the Nag-c'u to await her arrival and to escort her to Lhasa; later they were joined there by Jasak Taiji dBaṅ-'dus, *mda'-dpon* 'Bum-t'aṅ-pa Dar-rgyas-bkra-śis and *gzims-dpon* P'ur-pa. The princess was very late and the party, encamped in a barren region, suffered acutely from discomfort and hunger. She had not yet arrived, when they received a letter from an official in Lhasa, who advised them to come back at once. After some consultation, they left in a hurry, and en route they received a letter from the Dalai-Lama who informed them of the events in Lhasa and summoned them to the Potala.[2] As to the bride, she reached Lhasa much later, as we shall see.

Other items of news that the emperor at the moment took as a symptom of lessened tension, were the travels and inspections of 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal. The latter had left Lhasa in the 1st month (February) to deal with the sons of Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan. The excuse he gave out for this movement was that he was going on a tour in the Sa-dga' region (?; Sa-hai 薩海), in order to pacify these areas, which had been somewhat disturbed by the crisis centering round Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan. Later he inspected the military zone of the Qara-usu, starting on his journey on 1/III = April 7th.[3] Two months later he went to gTsaṅ, first to Gyantse and then to Rin-c'en-rtse. There he called Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal into a room and before three witnesses accused him of having forwarded letters which caused the rift between him and his late brother; it is curious to note that among these letters there was one of the Padshah of Delhi (?: *pad-śag-gi-dbaṅ*). Getting more and more excited, he accused Paṇḍita and him of having sent seditious letters to Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan and to have met with him to conspire against the ruler. The minister tried to calm him, but 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal went berserk; he hurled at him a spear,

he died in 1749. *Hsi-yü t'ung-wên-chih*, ch. 17, f. 5a-b; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh, piao* 3, f. 3b.

[1] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 357, ff. 1b-3b; ch. 359, ff. 11b-12a.

[2] *sTag-luṅ*, ff. 414a-415b.

[3] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 363, ff. 7a-8a.

which wounded instead a horse outside, and then another, which wounded fatally an attendant. With this, his rage seemed to evaporate, and Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal went off unscathed; he returned at once to Lhasa and then left (presumably in a hurry) for his assignment on the Nag-c'u as related above.[1] From the whole account it seems that this was actually a pathological case. Like so many young and pampered princes succeeding to absolute power, this Tibetan Caligula was slowly becoming insane.

After this tragic scene, 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal traveled to bKra-śis-lhun-po, where on 28/V = July 1st, accompanied by his ministers, he had an audience with the Paṇ-c'en.[2] It was only afterwards that the purpose of these tours became apparent. In the meantime the emperor, almost reassured, went as far as to contemplate the recall to court of Fucing and Labdon; the latter had been at court only for a short while, when he was sent back post-haste to Lhasa because of the Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan affair. Now that the crisis was over, it was but fitting that he should resume his service at court. The emperor therefore ordered the vice-president T'ung-ning 同寧 to replace Labdon at Lhasa. After he gathered experience there for a couple of years under the guidance of Fucing, the latter too was to be recalled to Peking. But as T'ung-ning showed much unwillingness to take up that post, his appointment was cancelled. Bandi, then holding the post of Chinese resident in Kukunor, was ordered to Lhasa, being in his turn replaced in Kukunor by Chi-shan. T'ung-ning was administered a sharp reprimand for his negligence.[3]

But the rosy illusions of the emperor were destined to last only a short time. 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal had merely paused for a moment, and soon he went relentlessly forward with his schemes. At once the worries began again for Ch'ien-lung and his representatives in Lhasa. On *ping-wu*/V = June 6th, Fucing and Labdon reported that 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's travels were more than simple inspection tours. He intended to reduce Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan's old retainers to obedience; they had remained bitterly hostile to him. But his journeys merely alarmed and excited the people. Besides, without any apparent reason he had begun moving some

[1] *sTag-luṅ*, ff. 413b-414a.

[2] *A3PC*, ff. 94a-95a.

[3] In the 4th month = May; *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 362, f. 9a-b; ch. 363, ff. 21a-22a, 25b. Cf. *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, f. 8a.

troops and shifting his guns out of Lhasa. 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal himself was, or pretended to be, suspicious that the arrival of the two ambans early that year was a sign that the emperor contemplated his deposition and arrest. All this began to look much like preparations for revolt. Still, the emperor would not believe that 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal could be such a fool as to plan a rebellion in earnest. He ordered Fucing and Labdon to investigate the matter carefully. Bandi was to keep his appointment secret in order not to alarm 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal; in any case he was not to leave for Tibet before Chi-shan, who was then at court for consultation, reached Kukunor. It was thus anticipated that Bandi would be able to start for Lhasa in the course of the winter.[1]

The next report of the ambans (received on *jên-wu*/VI = July 19th) was even more alarming. 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal was going to bring 49 loads of gunpowder and 1500 men from Koṅ-po into Lhasa. Clearly an armed action was intended. But Ch'ien-lung seemed blind to the tempest which was brewing. He hit upon the preposterous idea that the report of Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan's death had been false, and that 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal was now secretly preparing to attack his brother. He ridiculed the mere idea of a rebellion, and repeated his order to the ambans to await 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's return to Lhasa, and then to have the matter investigated.[2]

But in the following weeks several small events concurred in pointing towards an imminent showdown. Chi-shan had returned to court and had given a short report on Tibetan affairs. According to him, 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal was cruel and haughty and was hated by his subjects; immediate measures were imperative, otherwise the worst would happen.[3] On the other side, Bandi's appointment was common knowledge in Tibet; there was no point in keeping it secret any longer, and the emperor had to order its publication.[4] On *ping-wu*/IX = October 8th, another report by Fucing and Labdon came in; it stated that several old officials of Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan had been executed and their property confiscated upon faked charges; all his old servants were persecuted, robbed or killed outright. 'Gyur-med-dbaṅ-rgyal, the son and heir of the murdered

[1] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 364, ff. 6a-8b.
[2] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 366, ff. 11b-13b.
[3] *Kuei-hai*/VII = August 24th. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 369, ff. 12b-13b.
[4] *Wu-tzŭ*/VIII = September 18th. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 371, ff. 3b-4a.

duke, had been expelled from his estates and had taken refuge with the Paṇ-c'en. 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal himself was in gTsaṅ at the head of about 2000 men.[1] Fucing and Labdon, as the men on the spot, saw things much clearer than the hesitating emperor. They clearly perceived that a conflict was unavoidable, and that it was better to nip the mischief in the bud, before it grew to a full-sized rebellion or civil war. They informed therefore the emperor of their intention, as soon as 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal returned to Lhasa, to entice him into their yamen and to kill him. The emperor was displeased that the two ambans could not even wait for an imperial rescript. He gave orders to the Szechwan officials to investigate the matter. To Fucing and Labdon he recommended great prudence and secrecy, but gave them permission to act as circumstances required. It was however unlikely, as the emperor himself foresaw, that this rescript would reach the ambans in time. As a matter of fact, it had been issued on *ting-ch'ou*/X = November 6th, only five days before the tragedy in Lhasa.[2]

---

[1] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 372, f. 9a-b.

[2] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 374, ff. 10a-11a; ch. 375, f. 10a-b.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE END OF THE "KINGDOM" AND THE RISE OF THE TEMPORAL POWER OF THE DALAI-LAMA

What happened now was a sudden outbreak, not unexpected by thoughtful observers in Tibet and China, but the consequences of which were more far-reaching than could be reasonably anticipated. The tension which had slowly risen for the past three years unloaded itself in a one-day orgy of violence. Like a thunderstorm, it broke out, destroyed everything within its reach and ceased at once, leaving the air much cleaner.

Fucing and Labdon were two honest and courageous Manchu officers, even if somewhat limited in outlook. They had perceived that the emperor's continuous procrastination could only result in making matters worse. They decided not to wait for a reply to their last memorial, but to act on their own responsibility and to shoulder the consequences. The emperor's unwise withdrawal of the Lhasa garrison had left them without the means for enforcing their authority; only a daring coup, something which in normal circumstances would have amounted to pure and simple murder, could retrieve the position. Their decision must be frankly admired, as they must have been aware that they doubly risked their heads, firstly because it would have been something of a miracle if they escaped with their lives, and secondly because they were acting without the emperor's sanction and Ch'ien-lung had very stern ways of dealing with officials who presumed to act without or against his orders.

Their action was quick and ruthless. As soon as 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal was back in Lhasa, on the 13/X = November 11th, 1750, the two ambans summoned him to the Chinese residence [1] under the pretext of a conference. He was received in a room on the second floor; the ambans then invited him to a secret conference in their sleeping room. He went in without suspicions, but once the door

---

[1] K'rom-gzigs-k'aṅ, "the palace overlooking the market"; Tumsi-kang in S. Ch. Das's plan of Lhasa.

was safely closed, Fucing spoke to him bitterly, reproaching him for his treachery, which had made him unworthy of any regard, even that due to him on account of his father's memory. And then, without giving him a chance to reply, Fucing jumped up and seized him by his arm, while Labdon drew his sword and ran the Tibetan ruler through the body (according to others, Fucing did it himself). 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal was finished off at once, and his four or five attendants in the outer room were cut down on the spot. The ambans then sent a sergeant [1] to duke Paṇḍita, ordering him to take the reins of the government provisionally. In doing this, they acted on their own initiative, wholly without authority from the emperor, who later could and did freely disavow this step. What they probably meant, was that duke Paṇḍita should simply guarantee law and order in the town till the emperor made his will known. But the new arrangement had even not the time to begin functioning. Paṇḍita,[2] suprised and bewildered like everybody else, went first to the Potala to consult with the Dalai-Lama; but while precious time was lost in these discussions, the storm broke out in the town.

'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal had been thoroughly hated by his subjects, and none of his ministers or high officials thought of protesting against his murder. There was thus all likelihood that no violent reaction would have occurred, but for a lower official of 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal, a *mgron-gñer* (chamberlain) called Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis. He had accompanied 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal to the Chinese yamen and he alone had escaped alive, jumping from the window. It was he alone of all the staff and household of the murdered ruler who went out to avenge his death. This small man, utterly unknown

---

[1] *Pa-tsung* 把總. Mayers, n. 448.

[2] According to the *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, f. 7b, Paṇḍita and the other minister 'Broṅ-btsan after the murder of Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan had left Lhasa and had retired to 'Dam. They had collected some 2000 men and had remained there in sullen defiance, without returning to Lhasa, and sending message upon message to the Chinese authorities to warn them against 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal. The *Fan-pu yao-lüeh* is always well informed, and it is only with the greatest reluctance that I feel compelled to call in doubt this piece of information. But this action of Paṇḍita's is nowhere mentioned in the Tibetan sources or in the *Shih-lu*, and the fact remains that at the time of the outbreak Paṇḍita was present in Lhasa, which of course excludes any open defiance towards 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal. It seems very hard to reconcile the account of the *Fan-pu yao-lüeh* with the known facts.

till then and of no political standing whatsoever, became the tool of fate in shaping the course of events and the destinies of Tibet. He did not think of the consequences of his act and of the foolhardiness of provoking the Chinese empire to harsh retaliatory measures by an action which in no case could have more than a passing success. He gathered a crowd of about 1000 men and succeeded in firing this rabble to frenzy against the Chinese murderers. The mob rushed towards the Chinese residence and began a desultory musket-fire against it. As there were no regular soldiers of the Tibetan army present in Lhasa, Paṇḍita was powerless to do anything. As to the Dalai-Lama, when he heard and saw the turmoil, he at once sent his secretaries to the spot, to argue with the mob and to dissuade them from violence. But they would not listen. At this point the K'ri-c'en rDo-rje-'c'aṅ, i.e. the abbot of Rva-sgreṅ, one of the highest dignitaries of the Yellow Church, intervened personally. He caused a proclamation to be posted on the walls and pillars of Lhasa, in which he announced that 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal had been justly executed for his crimes, and threatening with punishment by the emperor anybody who dare lay hand on the ambans. He himself came out of the Potala and addressed the mob. But the crowd had by this time reached a state of white-hot frenzy. They shouted down the K'ri-c'en rDo-rje-'c'aṅ, tore away the posters of his proclamation, and went as far as turning their weapons against his sacred person. This last bulwark gone, the tempest burst in all its fury. The residence was surrounded, attacked and set on fire. Fucing and Labdon defended themselves desperately to the bitter end. Fucing killed with his dagger several of the assailants, but then he received three wounds on his body and the loss of blood weakened him so that he was soon unable to fight any more; rather than be taken alive, he committed suicide; Labdon too was wounded several times and died fighting. Most of their officers committed suicide or perished with them by the sword or in the flames, foremost among them the assistant secretary[1] Ts'ê-t'a-êrh 策塔爾 and the lieutenant-colonel[2] Huang Yüan-lung 黃元龍, who vainly endeavoured to shield their commanders. With the superior officers perished two lieutenants, 49 Chinese soldiers and 77 civilians. The mob then turned to the nearby office

[1] *T'ang-chu-shih* 堂主事. Mayers, n. 165.

[2] *Ts'an-chiang* 參將. Mayers, n. 443.

of the military paymaster,[1] which was looted with the loss of 85.000 taels. Then the night fell on these scenes of horror and confusion.

The next day brought the reaction. Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis was no leader and had no real following. The mob he had collected was composed of the dregs of the populace, and had dispersed with their loot as soon as everything was over. Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis had neither the possibility nor the capacity nor perhaps even the intention to seize power. There was no faction or party which would support him. P'o-lha-nas had relied mainly on his own personality, 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal only on the memory on his father, Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis could rely on nothing at all. So he did the only thing that was left for him; he gathered some friends and fled from the town, trying to effect his escape to Dsungaria, the only haven of refuge open to an enemy of the Chinese. After his flight, the Dalai-Lama took a firm grip of the situation. On the 15th = November 13th, he provisionally appointed Paṇḍita as administrator of the realm, to carry on the government till the arrival of the Chinese officials and troops, whom everybody knew would arrive in Lhasa in a short time. He posted a proclamation forbidding all Tibetans to give help or refuge to Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis and his followers. They were energetically hunted down, and by the 23rd = November 21st Paṇḍita could report that Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis had been caught and imprisoned, that more than half of the rebels had been arrested and the greater part of the treasure had been recovered. The Dalai-Lama had also admitted in the Potala all those Chinese who had escaped the fury of the mob, and had fed, clothed and equipped them. Only lesser men were left alive: two *bičēči*, some accountants and personal attendants of the ambans, about 80 soldiers and some 110 or 120 civilians, mainly Chinese merchants and foodshop-owners in the town, about 200 men in all.[2] On 24th = November 22nd the situation had become so completely normal, that these refugees could return to their dwellings. The Dalai-Lama had thus done all that was in his power. He then sent by an express courier a report of the events to the emperor, and set himself to await the arrival of the imperial troops.[3]

---

[1] Cfr. Waddell, p. 335. It is n. 60 in Waddell's map.

[2] 247 according to the *A3PC*, which perhaps includes in this number also the Chinese residing in Shigatse.

[3] My narrative of the tragedy of 1750 is based mainly on the unusually

There was still the matter of princess bSam-grub-sgrol-ma, due to arrive at any moment, although her voyage had lost by now its meaning. But it was necessary to avoid giving offence to the Mongol aristocracy. Therefore, the Dalai-Lama sent again to the Nag-c'u *bka'-blon* Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal, Jasak Taiji Hor-k'aṅ-gsar, *mda'-dpon* 'Bum-t'aṅ-pa dNos-grub-rnam-rgyal and *mda'-dpon* Pad-ts'al-ba to wait upon her and to escort her to Lhasa (11th or 12th month). There she was shown due honour; she paid the customary visits to the Dalai-Lama and to the Paṇ-c'en, and then started on her return journey.[1] She died however in 1752, soon after her return.[2]

In the meantime the news of the tragedy in Lhasa had reached the emperor on *kuei-ch'ou*/X = December 12th, through a report from the Szechwan authorities. The forerunners of the storm had been some disturbing reports of open boasts by 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal that he would soon wipe out the Chinese in Lhasa. Then the Szechwan authorities got word that all the communications with Lhasa had been interrupted; the postal stages system was exclusively in the hands of Tibetans, and an order by 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal had sufficed for stopping the passage of travellers, couriers and letters. After a short, ominous silence of about 10 days, a letter sent by a Chinese non-commissioned officer, a survivor of the massacre, informed the Szechwan authorities of the events. Governor-general Cereng prompty forwarded the letter to Peking, along with other secondary reports which had come in shortly afterwards.

---

full account in *L7DL*, ff. 378a-379a, with some additions from *A3PC*, f. 96a. Next in order of importance come the Chinese accounts, chiefly Docs. VIII, IX and X in the Appendix, and the Lhasa Chinese inscription of 1793 translated by Jametel, Inscription commemorative du meurtre de deux ambassadeurs chinois au Tibet, in *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, I (1887), pp. 446-452; there are several mistakes in the translation (dates wrong by two years, 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal has been divided in two princes, Tchou-eur-mo-te and Na-mou-tch'a-eur, etc.) and we cannot relie overmuch on this document, as I am unable to check it with the original. Cfr. also *Kao-tsung Shih-lu* ch. 377, ff. 1b-5a; *Wei-tsang t'ung-chih*, ch. 13a f. 10b; *Fan-pu-yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, ff. 8a-b, 9b-10b; *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, ch. 312 (*lieh-chüan* 99), pp. 1165c and 1166a; Hummel, p. 250; Courant, p. 96. The Capuchins were no longer in Tibet, and what they heard of these events in Nepal was only rumours distorted by popular fancy. Cfr. A. Giorgi, p. 340, and the completely wrong account in *Gli scritti del Padre Marco della Tomba*, ed. by De Gubernatis, Florence, 1878, p. 62.

[1] *L7DL*, ff. 383a-b and 387b; *A3PC*, f. 97a.

[2] *L7DL*, f. 411a; *A3PC*, f. 106a.

The Grand Council advised immediate action, and the emperor, fully concurring with their views, at once ordered Yüeh Chung-ch'i to take position at Ta-chien-lu with 3000 men; his task was to keep that most important zone quiet and to support the action of Cereng. The latter was to march to Lhasa with 3000 men in order to reestablish the imperial authority there. Another force of 2000 was to follow him after a short while. As to Bandi, he must be already on his way from Hsining and probably would soon arrive in Lhasa with his small personal escort, but without troops; [1] it was clearly too late for countermanding his journey. Some other officers were ordered to Szechwan to support these preparations, and the vice-president Namjal (a Mongol) was appointed as a colleague of Bandi in quality of second amban.[2] Yin-chi-shan 尹繼善, the governor-general of Shenshi and Kansu, was to take care of the commissariat arrangements.[3]

These measures suffered from the haste with which they were taken; they evidently erred on the side of excessive strength. But almost at once the emperor realized the real importance of the events. He perceived that everything was already over. There was no rebellion to put down, since the Dalai-Lama and duke Paṇḍita had quelled the uprising in Lhasa. A full-sized expedition to Tibet seemed clearly out of place and likely only to produce mistrust and unrest in the country; there was also the heavy financial cost to be considered. Yüeh Chung-ch'i and Cereng were therefore ordered to study the situation and to decide whether a large scale expedition was advisable or not. Already in these first days the emperor was able to sketch out in a few lines the main features of the reorganisation of the Tibetan protectorate, the necessity of which was fully realized in Peking. Paṇḍita might be loyal and useful, but he had done nothing to save the ambans and commanded little respect in the country. It seemed inadvisable to invest him with the royal title and the office of ruler of Tibet; anyhow, the matter must be thoroughly investigated. But there were two points which the emperor perceived at once to be most important: the establishment of a permanent garrison in Lhasa and the reorganization on a sounder

[1] Doc. VIII.

[2] *Chia-yin*/XI = December 13th. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 376, ff. 32a-33a.

[3] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 376, ff. 34b-36a. On Yin-chi-shan see Hummel, pp. 920-921.

basis of the postal stages system.[1] Of course for the moment the very first thing to do was to round up Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis and his accomplices. As a matter of fact this had already been done; but, as the news had not yet reached the capital, the emperor organized the hunt in a thorough manner. Above all, he was bent on precluding to the criminals all possibilities of escape to Dsungaria. Chi-shan, who was then in command at Hsining, was to take particular care of the matter.[2] A circular letter was also sent to the chief lamas of Kukunor, instructing them to cooperate with the Chinese authorities.[3]

During the following days we have a series of edicts to the Grand Council. They vividly reveal the process of clarification in the emperor's mind, as he struggled with the Tibetan problems and tried to find a permanent solution for them. Slowly things shaped themselves clearly in his mind. It was now or never; this was a unique occasion for securing the final pacification and submission of Tibet. To reach this goal, advantage could be taken of the presence of the troops who were shortly to arrive in Lhasa. The emperor was under no obligation to Paṇḍita, as his appointment by Fucing as ruler of Tibet had been wholly unauthorized. Paṇḍita showed no special merits and had failed to rise to the occasion; therefore, he was not particularly deserving of promotion. From the point of view of expediency, the office of ruler of Tibet and the title of *wang* had outlived their usefulness; there were more drawbacks than advantages in reviving them for the sake of Paṇḍita. Such a sudden and undeserved honour might turn his head and he might even be tempted to follow in the footsteps of 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal. At the utmost, he could be appointed a member of the council of minister (*bka'-blon*), which it was intended to revive. The emperor awaited proposals from his official on the spot; but once more he insisted on the necessity of taking the responsibility for the postal system away from the Tibetan government and of placing it under direct Chinese management. A single word from 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal had sufficed for inter-

---

[1] *Chia-yin*/XI = December 13th. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 376, ff. 33a-35b; ch. 37 ff. 8a-10b.

[2] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 376, f. 36a-b.

[3] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 377, ff. 6b-7a.

rupting all communications with Lhasa; at all costs this must not happen again.[1]

Eventually on *ting-szŭ*/XI = December 16th the emperor put these thoughts into final shape by a rescript to the Dalai-Lama and Paṇḍita; it was intended as a reply to the detailed report which they had forwarded to court. In this rescript the emperor recounted his past benefits to P'o-lha-nas and the shocking misdemeanours of 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal. He excused with kind but rather contemptuous words Paṇḍita's failure to rescue the ambans, and courteously but firmly refused to sanction his appointment as *wang* and ruler of Tibet. Two *bka'-blon* were to be nominated, one of whom was to be Paṇḍita and the other was to be selected by Cereng acting in consultation with the Dalai-Lama. These *bka'-blon* were to be subordinate to the Dalai-Lama and to conduct the government of Tibet in agreement with the ambans. While this new council was to be responsible for the general administration, some matters were to be exclusively reserved to the judgement of the ambans, viz. the drafting and forwarding of official correspondence to Peking, the commissariat arrangements for the garrison, the supervision of the mail stages etc. The rescript closed with exhortations to loyalty and the request for a pledge of immediate compliance.[2] An explanatory instruction to the ambans advised them not to allow Paṇḍita any influence in the choice of the second *bka'-blon*, but either to leave the selection to the Dalai-Lama, or to effect it themselves from among the noblest families of the country.[3]

In the meantime the emperor received the much gratifying report that Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis and his accomplices had been arrested by Paṇḍita, and that everything was quiet in Lhasa. Accordingly, Cereng could advise the emperor to give up the planned expedition and to limit the force proceeding to Lhasa to a bare 800 men, who were amply sufficient for the purpose. The emperor agreed that a large force was useless, and ordered Cereng to march to Lhasa with

[1] Besides the two documents quoted above (p. 202, n. 1), see *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 377, ff. 8a-10b, 12a-15b.

[2] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 377, ff. 15b-19a. This document was deemed so important in Tibet, that it is included in full in *L7DL*, ff. 379a-381b. It is a rare example of faithful literal translation of an official document from the Chinese (or rather from the Manchu) into Tibetan. It offers considerable lexicographic interest because of the Tibetan words chosen for expressing the technical terms of Chinese and Manchu chancery.

[3] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 377, ff. 19b-20a.

the number of men proposed by him. He was to act there in concert with Bandi, Namjal and the vice-president Chao-hui 兆惠, who shortly before had been sent to join him. Thus a commission of four members was formed under the chairmanship of Cereng with the task of giving effect to the reorganization sketched out by the emperor's edicts. As to Yüeh Chung-ch'i, for the moment being he was to remain at Ta-chien-lu with his division, to act as reserve and support.[1]

On *ting-mao*/XI = December 26th the emperor addressed another edict to the Dalai-Lama and Paṇḍita, praising them for the quick arrest of Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis. He informed them of his new military dispositions and reassured them about the intentions of Cereng and his small army. He announced also the despatch of some (rather paltry) presents, to be brought to Lhasa by Cereng. The arrested criminals must be held for judgment by the imperial commissioners. The greater culprits were to be executed, the lesser ones to be dealt with leniently. As for the stolen money, the emperor was content with what had been already recovered, and condoned the balance.[2]

The imperial orders were duly executed. Yüeh Chung-ch'i took position at Ta-chien-lu with 200 men, and Cereng set out with 800 men; both commanders began arranging for the gradual building up of the new Lhasa garrison, whose strength was fixed at 1500.[3] One modification was made to the scheme: the number of the *bka'-blon* was increased from two to four, in order to diminish proportionately the individual power of each. This was the sequel to a protest voiced by a *sde-pa* (district governor) of gTsaṅ against too much power being allowed to Paṇḍita, who was not popular in that region. The *sde-pa* was reassured on that score and was commanded to keep the populace quiet.[4]

At this point things took a slightly different course owing to the fiery energy of Bandi. This rash old warrior had arrived in Lhasa, practically alone, on the 21/XII = January 19th, 1751. He at

[1] Doc. IX. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 377, ff. 31a-32a. Chao-hui sent to join Cereng, *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 377, f. 7a. His biography in Hummel, pp. 72-74.

[2] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 377, ff. 32a-34a. This document too is embodied in a somewhat different version in *L7DL*, ff. 381b-382b. A similar rescript (not in the *Shih-lu*) can be found in *L7DL*, ff. 382b-383a.

[3] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 377, ff. 43a, 43b; ch. 378, ff. 4a-6b, 7b-8a.

[4] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 378, ff. 6b-7b.

once began investigating the matter, without waiting for the arrival of Cereng and of the other commissioners. We can surmise with all certainty that he had never received the news of the latters' appointment. Bandi sent to court a full report of the happenings of the 13th of November, and this report represents one of our major sources on the event. Then he took over from Paṇḍita the persons of Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis and of twelve other rebel leaders. He questioned them severely, employing torture. The confessions, which he extracted from them, inplicated 14 other ringleaders. Their trial was summary, if indeed any took place. Bandi did not lose time; only four days after his arrival he had finished the investigation of the case. The Dalai-Lama tried in vain to intercede for the accused men. All that he obtained was the release of the small fry. The leaders, of whom none was a man of influence or standing, had to pay with their lives for the death of the ambans.[1] On the 25/XII = January 23rd, 1751, Lhasa witnessed another gruesome example of Chinese justice, similar to that of 1728. Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis and six other rebel leaders were executed by the slicing process; others were beheaded, others strangled. The heads of the executed men were planted upon poles, for all the populace to gaze upon. The remaining ringleaders were banished and their property was confiscated.[2]

This unnecessarily hasty action nearly landed Bandi into trouble. Cereng on his way to Tibet was met in Chaya by a courier from Bandi informing him of the rebels' execution. Cereng, who was higher in rank than Bandi, took offence at being thus forestalled, and protested with the emperor. At the same time he quickened his pace, taking with him 200 men only and leaving the main body to follow more slowly. He wished to reach Lhasa as soon as possible, in order (as he said in his report) to avoid the possibility of some mistake by Bandi; this concerned mainly 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's wife and son, whom the emperor had ordered to be sent to the capital. The emperor blamed Bandi for having acted with uncalled-for and unseemly haste; but really it made little difference, because those men were to die in any case; and the breach of discipline was overlooked. But Bandi was to refrain from any more independent action; for the reorganization of the protectorate and the selection of the *bka'-blon*, the emperor gave strict orders that nothing

[1] *L7DL*, f. 384a-b.
[2] Doc. X. *sTag-luṅ*, f. 416a.

should be done before all the four commissioners (Cereng, Bandi, Namjal, Chao-hui) were on the spot. The form of the execution had been unduly harsh and revolting to Buddhist feelings. The emperor ordered therefore that the Dalai-Lama and the people should be assured that no more executions were intended; the exposed heads of the criminals were to be at once removed.[1] It was expedient to maintain the political status-quo unchanged till the final settlement. All encroachments had to be strictly repressed. Thus, when it was reported that Paṇḍita was appointing a new governor to mŇa'-ris (the old one had been killed together with 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal) and was granting him the title of J̌uriqtu Taiǰi, the emperor sternly ordered his representatives to keep Paṇḍita in his place; he was not the ruler of Tibet and had not the power to grant office or rank on his own authority. But the report had been incorrect, because the title had been granted by the Dalai-Lama, who was fully entitled to do so;[2] and the unpleasantness blew over.

On *ting-yu*/II = March 26th, the court was informed that at last Cereng had reached Lhasa. He began at once his consultations with Bandi and the Dalai-Lama on the selection of the *bka'-blon* and with Paṇḍita and the *mgron-gñer* (secretaries of the council) for the reorganization of the administrative machinery. He awaited the arrival of his other colleagues before submitting definite proposals.[3] With Cereng's safe and unimpeded arrival to Lhasa, the military situation had been finally clarified. There was no further need of military movements beyond the normal ones, and Yüeh Chung-ch'i was ordered back from Ta-chien-lu to Szechwan. At the same time a new schedule was approved for the distribution of the Chinese garrisons in the troubled and strategically important borderland between Tibet and Szechwan.[4]

Chao-hui and Namjal reached Lhasa with 500 men during the first month (February) of 1751.[5] With their arrival the commission was complete and could start its work. The reorganization of the Chinese protectorate in Tibet involved two sets of problems:

---

[1] *Jên-hsü*/I = February 19th, 1751; *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 381, ff. 7b-9b. *I-ch'ou*/I = February 22th; *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 381, ff. 13b-14b.

[2] *Kuei-yu*/II = March 2nd. *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 382, ff. 6b-7b. *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, f. 11a-b. *L7DL*, f. 384a-b.

[3] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 383, f. 23a-b.

[4] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 383, ff. 23b, 23b-24b.

[5] *A3PC*, f. 98a.

the liquidation of the past and the building up of a new administrative system. As for the first item, the Tibetan "kingdom" had disappeared with 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal, leaving behind few regrets and no particular institution to be done away with. It had used the machinery of government which it had inherited from the council of 1721-1727, adding nothing of its own. All that remained to be done in this connection was to reward the faithful and to punish the guilty.

As soon as he received the news of the upheaval of November 13th, the emperor had expressed his regrets for the death of the two ambans. At first, he felt rather irritated because they had really acted against the letter, if not the spirit, of his orders. But soon he reached a better appreciation of their devoted sacrifice; and then his gratitude showed itself in a truly imperial fashion. Fucing and Labdon were postumously created earls (*po*), and their descendants were given the hereditary rank of viscounts. Their families were granted a substantial allowance. A temple commemorating their sacrifice was erected in Peking. Their names were also entered for worship in the Hall of Eminent Statesman and in the Hall of the Zealots of the Dynasty. Their remains were sent home with the highest honours, the Dalai-Lama himself giving a parting audience to the *bičēči* in charge of the transport. The room in the K'rom-gzigs-k'aṅ, in which they had perished, was transformed into a worship-hall dedicated to their memory.[1]

Concerning the punishment of the guilty, among the Chinese the worst offender was undoubtedly the emperor himself, whose blindness to facts and ill-conceived and weak measures were not a little to blame for what had happened. Such as things were, a scapegoat had to be found, and it was quite easy to get one. Chi-shan was now taken to account for his hesitations and his intimacy and good relations with 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal during his period of office in Tibet. He was recalled to court and tried on these charges. On *i-ch'ou*/III = April 23rd, 1751, he was sentenced to imprisonment awaiting execution. In remembrance of his previous faithful services, the emperor graciously permitted him to commit suicide.[2]

[1] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 376, ff. 32a-33a; ch. 377, ff. 1b-5a, 7b, 7b-8a, 37b; ch. 387. f. 14a. *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, ch. 13a, f. 10b. *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, ff. 10b-11a. *L7DL*, f. 384b. Hummel, p. 250. The K'rom-gzigs-k'aṅ was repaired by Fu-k'ang-an in 1793; Jametel, Inscription commémorative etc., p. 451.

[2] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 382, ff. 14a-15a; ch. 385, ff. 12b-14a.

In Tibet itself, after Bandi had liquidated the men responsible for the uprising, the next people due for punishment were, according to Chinese ideas, the relatives of 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal. At first the emperor had ordered the execution of 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's wife and of his son Dar-rgyas-tse'-riṅ and the confiscation of their estates, which were to be appropriated for the maintenance of the ambans.[1] Later imperial instructions went into details: 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's property was to be surveyed. All that he had unlawfully appropriated for himself, must be given back to the original owners; foremost under this item was the property plundered from Paṇḍita. As Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan's innocence was now fully established, his son 'Gyur-med-dbaṅ-rgyal was to be given the title of duke (*kung*), the nominal governorship of mŃa'-ris and the estates which he should have inherited from his father and which had been seized by 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal. But this did not mean the resurrection of the semi-independent governorship of mŃa'-ris; the young duke was required to reside permanently in Lhasa, while the actual government of mŃa'-ris was entrusted to loyal officers selected by the Tibetan council and responsible to them. Only 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's private property was confiscated for the use of the ambans. His family was no longer to be executed, but merely to be sent to the capital.[2]

But at this point a most important discovery put the seal on the fate of these unhappy people. It came to light that 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal had been in correspondance with the Dsungar ruler, to whom he had sent presents and letters requesting military help. The Dsungars were asked to send secretly some troops with cannon to Tibet; they should enter gTsaṅ unobtrusively, where they would be enrolled in the official list among the local nomads, till the moment came for action.[3] 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's messengers were caught on their return to Lhasa, and the proofs of the conspiracy fell into the hands of the Chinese. They had already more than suspected such a thing, because shortly before his end 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal had boasted of his connections with the Dsungars and of the help

[1] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 376, ff. 33a-35b; ch. 377, ff. 8a-10b. Cf. *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, f. 9a.

[2] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 377, ff. 12a-15b, 15b-19a; ch. 381, ff. 14b-15a. *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, f. 13b. *L7DL*, 387b.

[3] *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, ff. 11b-12a. *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, ch. 525 (*Fan-pu* 8), p. 1640c.

they were going to give him for the extermination of the Chinese. The full rigour of Chinese law then fell on the doomed family. The execution of Dar-rgyas-ts'e-riṅ and of his mother was ordered.[1] The estates of P'o-lha and Rin-c'en-rtse were confiscated, and their revenue (2600 taels yearly) was henceforward to be paid into the Tibetan treasury. The emperor did not think it fit to appropriate it for the use of the ambans, except for 500 taels set apart for the supplies of the garrison of Lhasa.[2] On the request of the Dalai-Lama, the estates seized by 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal from the native nobles were restored to their owners.[3] Some of the dependencies of P'o-lha, such as Śel-dkar-k'ul-mk'ar and sTag-rtse sKul-sgrub, were later given back to the young duke 'Gyur-med-dbaṅ-rgyal.[4] But P'o-lha itself, the ancient seat of the family, was lost forever to the descendants of P'o-lha-nas.

Then the imperial commission took in hand the reorganization of the Tibetan government. Their main concern seems to have been the reduction of the lay, i.e. aristocratic share in it. They did not listen to the proposals of the nobles, that is, if any were presented at all. We know of no memorial by Paṇḍita. And the only information we have about Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal is that he fell ill soon after the execution of the rebels. When he recovered, he had an audience with the imperial commissioners in the bSam-grub-p'o-braṅ; he talked with them in Mongol and was informed that he was to be confirmed in his seat as *bka'-blon*.[5] So everything had been already settled.

This was in accordance with the series of proposals which the commission embodied in a long memorial to the emperor. They may be summarized as follows. The council of *bka'-blon* was to consist of four members. Of these, three were members by right; they were duke Paṇḍita and P'o-lha-nas's old ministers Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal and Sri-gcod-ts'e-brtan, who already held their ranks by Chinese grants. The fourth member of the old council, 'Broṅ-btsan, had become blind and had therefore been dismissed by 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal. As he was unfit for official work, he could not be reinstated. His place was to be taken by a

---

[1] *Ping-shên*/II = March 25th, 1751; *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 383, ff. 7a-8b; cfr. also ch. 386, f. 23a-b. *Shêng-wu-chi*, ch. 5, f. 13b.

[2] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 385, ff. 14a-b, 14b-15b.

[3] *L7DL*, f. 383b.

[4] 10th month = November 1751. *L7DL*, f. 401a.

[5] *sTag-luṅ*, f. 416a-b.

learned lama, to represent the interests of the Church in the council. The *bka'-blon* must transact business collectively in the council house; any departmental specialization of the single members was strictly prohibited (at least in the first years after 1751). They must employ the official staff only, and all private secretaries and other helpers must be abolished. Provincial governors were to be appointed by the Dalai-Lama acting on the advice of the ministers in agreement with the ambans. No absentee governors were to be tolerated (a bad practice which had crept up under P'o-lha-nas). The right of appointment of the heads of monasteries was to rest, as before, with the Dalai-Lama alone, to the exclusion of any other influence. The lower officials to be appointed by the Dalai-Lama; the appointments made by P'o-lha-nas and 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal to be revised and, if needs be, cancelled. The responsibility of military defence and of maintaining law and order in the provinces was to belong to the *mda'-dpon* (two in dBus, three in gTsaṅ); they had the functions of a provincial commander and were appointed by the council, but they held an imperial commission.[1] Compulsory labour was to be regulated; in future it was due to the Dalai-Lama alone. *'U-lag* service of mail was to be reserved for official communications only, certified as such by a sealed document issued by the Dalai-Lama. None but the Dalai-Lama himself was to control the management of the state granaries. The 'Dam Mongols were to be enrolled in a Banner organization and to supply men for the personal service of the ambans.—The emperor sanctioned all these proposals; but he insisted again on the necessity of making proper provision for the mail service, which was the backbone of the Chinese supervision machinery.[2]

Shortly afterwards an additional report was submitted by Cereng (on *wu-yin*/IV = May 6th). He confirmed his nominations for membership of the *bka'-blon* council; for the vacant place, he proposed the name of Bla-ma Ñi-ma-rgyal-mts'an of 'P'yoṅs-rgyas, till then a clerk (*rtse-druṅ*) in the offices of the Potala, holding the office of *mgron-gñer*, chamberlain.[3] The lama had been selected by common agreement of the three *bka'-blon*, on the proposal of the Dalai-Lama. The emperor expressed his approval and granted the

[1] For a sketchy account of the lower officials of the Tibetan government at the end of the 18th century, see *Wei-tsang-t'u-chih*, in *JRAS* 1891, p. 203.

[2] Doc. XI.

[3] Died in 1767; *A3PC* f. 265b.

imperial commission to the new ministers, along with a series of moral instructions, enjoining them to obey the Dalai-Lama and to cooperate loyally with the ambans.[1] But the Chinese commissioners had not awaited the imperial sanction before formally appointing the *bka-'blon* to their office: the solemn ceremony of taking office was held on 1/II = February 26th, with a great festival and amidst the rejoicings of the populace.[2] The periodical missions of the Dalai-Lama and of the Paṇ-c'en to Peking were regulated according to the old practice.[3] The postal service was organized on an autonomous basis, quite independent of the Tibetan authorities.[4] Its paramount importance was now clearly recognized, and it was built up so solidly, that it could carry out its work faithfully and reliably until the collapse of the old order of things in China. The commissariat arrangements were duly cared for,[5] and regulations were framed for the commercial traffic with Szechwan.[6] The strength of the Lhasa garrison was settled at 1500. Lastly, it was prescribed that henceforward no Tibetan could be granted the titles of Khan, *wang* or *beise*.[7]

With the laying down of this series of regulations, the task of the imperial commission was at an end. Immediately afterwards Cereng and Chao-hui took their leave from the Dalai-Lama and left Lhasa with part of their forces, while Bandi and Namjal took over their duties as regular ambans.[8]

All these proceedings are based on a recognition by the emperor of the sovereignty of the Dalai-Lama, for the first time since 1705.[9]

---

[1] Doc. XII; *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, ff. 12b-13a. *L7DL*, f. 386a; Kloṅ-rdol, vol. *'A*, ff. 16b and 18a.

[2] *L7DL*, f. 387a. *sTag-luṅ*, f. 417a.

[3] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 387, ff. 4b-5a. Rockhill in *JRAS* 1891, p. 205.

[4] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 387, f. 5a-b; ch. 388, ff. 1b-2b, 2b-3a.

[5] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 387, ff. 24b-25a.

[6] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 397, ff. 33b-34a.

[7] *Shêng-wu-chi*, ch. 5, f. 13b.

[8] *L7DL*, f. 387b. Bandi was replaced in the 5th month of the same year 1751 by the brigadier-general Dorji; *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, ch. 9, f. 12a. Actually he did not leave Tibet until the 9th month of 1752; *L7DL*, f. 411a; *A3PC*, f. 108b. Namjal was replaced in the 7th month of 1752 by the brigadier-general Shu-ch'un; *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, loc. cit. He left Lhasa towards the end of the year; *L7DL*, f. 417a.

[9] The criticism of Li Tieh-tseng, *Tibet today and yesterday*, New York 1960, pp. 49-50 is due to a misunderstanding. What I meant and mean is that the

The Tibetan texts are explicit on this score; the *L7DL* says clearly that "the Dalai-Lama is the lord of Tibet" and that the *bka'-blon* must obey him as it had been the rule in the times of the Fifth Dalai-Lama.[1] Another text affirms that "by the order of the emperor spiritual and temporal rule (*c'os srid dań rgyal srid*) of Tibet must belong to the Dalai-Lama".[2] This was solemny proclaimed by the Chinese authorities in a great gathering of all the Tibetan officials in the bSam-grub-p'o-braň during the *smon-lam* festival in the first month of 1751.[3] The proclamation is passed under silence in the Chinese texts. The *bka'-blon* must report to the Dalai-Lama, must obey him, but nowhere in the Chinese documents are we told in so many words that the Dalai-Lama has been recognized as ruler of Tibet. The reason is that the Chinese believed that they were merely restoring the regime which had existed in the time of the Fifth Dalai-Lama, but had fallen in abeyance in the times of Lajang Khan, P'o-lha-nas and 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal. No formal appointment was therefore needed, since the act implied a restoration of ancient rights, not a new organization. Whether this belief was correct or not, must be left for discussion later on.

To close the tale, we must still speak of the part played by the Dsungars in the whole affair. Their decaying state, already on the verge of dissolution, was then ruled by Lama Darja (1750-1753). The Dsungar kingdom was now but a shadow of its great past, and was no longer in a condition to carry out an aggressive policy towards China.[4] But its ruler, although fully occupied with the chaotic conditions in the interior, continued to try his intrigues in Tibet whenever the occasion presented itself. The ineptness of such a policy becomes clear if one thinks that the Dsungars were absolutely unable to back their intrigues with the force of arms. 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's approaches were welcome to Lama Dar-

---

proceeding of 1751 implied a recognition of the sovereignty of the Dalai-Lama at that moment, not in the past.

[1] *rDo-rje-'c'aň Tala'i bla ma 'di k'o na Bod Gaňs can gyi mgon po yin pas..... sňar Tā la'i bla ma lňa pa c'en po'i sku dus ltar Bod kyi lar rgya'i don t'ams cad rDo rje 'c'aň Tā la'i blama raň gis mdsad dgos kyi mňa' gsol gzeňs bsdad p'ul ba yin*; *L7DL*, f. 386b.

[2] *Dad pa'i 'dab brgya*, f. 92b.

[3] *L7DL*, loc. cit. *sTag-luň*, f. 417a, is equally clear on the proclamation of sovereignty.

[4] For the last years of the Dsungar kingdom see Courant, pp. 97-141.

ja but the catastrophe in Lhasa was so sudden, that it crushed any hope that he may have entertained in that direction.

The Dsungars then turned their attention to the extreme West of Tibet. On *i-hai*/II = March 4th, 1751, news reached Peking that the king of Ladakh had reported to Lhasa that Dsungar merchants had reached Ladakh from Yarkand and had inquired about the Dalai-Lama, the Paṇ-c'en and general conditions in Tibet. The emperor at once ordered precautions to be taken in mÑa'-ris, not against any military danger, which was no longer feared, but against penetration of Dsungar emissaries and propagandists from the north-west.[1] The real explanation of this move by the Dsungars was given by the intercepted letters of 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal; he had invited the Dsungar ruler to send troops to Ladakh, in order to threaten Tibet from that side.[2] Again on *i-hai*/XI = December 29th, 1751, the king of Ladakh reported that Dsungar envoys had interviewed him, inquiring about conditions in Tibet and requesting the king to give them some lamas for the temples in Ili,—the usual request of the Dsungars for the last twenty years. The king informed the Dalai-Lama and the ambans, who replied with a request to keep them informed of any further move.[3] The Dsungars evidently soon perceived that nothing could be done in that direction, and these feelers were not followed up, owing also to the heavy precautions which the Chinese had taken in the meantime on the roads leading from Tibet to Dsungaria.[4]

Once again, for the last time in history, the Dsungar ruler appealed directly to the emperor, repeating the same requests as in 1750, viz. permission to send an embassy to Tibet and to fetch some lamas to Ili. The Chinese reply was somewhat less uncompromising than in 1750. Of course no embassy to Tibet was allowed. The emperor maintained his useless offer to have Dsungar lamas trained in the Tibetan monasteries of Peking and Jehol. But he yielded to a personal entreaty of the Dsungar envoy to the extent of giving permission for four of five learned lamas from Tibet to betake themselves to Ili, to hold there courses of higher Lamaistic studies;

[1] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 382, ff. 9a-10a.

[2] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 386, f. 23a-b.

[3] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 402, f. 12a-b.

[4] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 388, ff. 7a-8a, 9a-b. Cf. *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, ff. 13b-14a.

but after some years they were to return home.[1] We do not know whether this concession was really carried into practice; in any case, it was a great exception to the stern rule which had been enforced, viz. the absolute prohibition of any contact between Dsungars and Tibetans.[2] And this is the last of the troubled Dsungar-Tibetan relations, so often looming in the background during this period. Six years more, and the Dsungar kingdom and nation had become a thing of the past. Dsungaria passed forever out of Tibetan politics, leaving the field undisputed to the Chinese.

How are we to understand the events of 1750? There are several factors which must be kept in view. In 1750 there was no civil war as in 1717/8, but the suppression of a too powerful and unreliable protegee by the Chinese representatives. What followed was more in the nature of an outbreak of town violence and rowdyism than of a revolt. But there is no doubt that the prompt and ruthless action of Fucing and Labdon prevented a serious revolt. 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal intended to rebel against China and had made all preparations towards this end. Of course the ultimate Chinese victory was beyond doubt, but it would have meant a long, arduous and very costly campaign. Thanks to the self-sacrifice of the two ambans, Chinese protectorate over Tibet was finally consolidated without need of military action.

And thus we perceive that the upheaval of 1750 is utterly different from that of 1727/8. Then we had a war between two opposite Tibetan parties, with Chinese armed intervention at the end, and the establishment of the permanent and hereditary authority of a lay ruler. In 1750 we have the ruler, in peaceful and secure possession of sovereignty, planning revolt against the irksome Chinese tutelage. This time, we see no more Tibetans against Tibetans, but Tibetans (or rather one Tibetan) against Chinese. In the background hover the Dsungars, pledged allies of the intended rebel; and this time it is the real thing, they are not merely a propaganda slogan as employed by the Chinese for justifying their intervention of 1728. The swiftness of the repression dit not allow the Dsungars time for setting their troops in motion. But it is also much open to doubt whether they still had the means of organizing an expeditionary force on the scale of that led by Cering Donduk in 1717.

---

[1] *Ping-shên*/II = March 25th, 1751; *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 383, ff. 16a-19a. *Fan-pu yao-lüeh*, ch. 18, f. 13a.

[2] *Shêng-wu-chi*, ch. 5, f. 13b.

The plot failed mainly because of the shortcomings of 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal himself. Although we must concede that he had some talent for intrigue, 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal was no P'o-lha-nas. He lacked the ability and perseverance of his father, and had disgusted the nobility, the clergy and the common people by his oppressive rule. He had only the revered memory of his father to bank upon. His fall showed that his seemingly unassailable power was hollow and rotten to the core. After he had allowed himself to be forestalled by the Chinese, his murder caused no natural reaction, except the purely local outburst in Lhasa, organized and led by his small personal retinue. Nobody among the great nobles in Tibet ever dreamt of attempting to place 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's young son on the throne of his father and grandfather. The times of the old kings, and even of the P'ag-mo-gru rulers, had passed forever; in Lamaistic Tibet a lay dynasty had now become an anachronism, impossible to maintain in the long run. That of P'o-lha-nas had been the last attempt of this kind; but it reposed on nothing more than the outstanding merits and cleverness of a single man. It was the last effort, made by a member of the old aristocracy, to build up a national state. P'o-lha-nas was not supported by his fellow nobles; his son was even worse off, as he had antagonized them. And thus the structure, which P'o-lha-nas had built, collapsed like a house of cards, leaving the field clear for the natural factors of Tibetan politics in the 18th century: the spiritual power of the dGe-lug-pa sect and the military force of the Manchu emperors. In that moment and for a long time afterwards they needed each other, and the result was that curious and unique form of dual government, which lasted without serious challenge till the crisis of 1904-1912.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE ADMINISTRATION OF TIBET DURING THE FIRST HALF-CENTURY OF CHINESE PROTECTORATE

In dealing with the administrative organization of Tibet, we must of course distinguish between the Tibetan government and the Chinese supervising bodies.

I. *The Tibetan government*

To give an account of the Tibetan government between 1705 and 1751, we meet with a difficulty concerning the theoretical foundations of the state: it is difficult to give a satisfactory solution, according to our Western ideas, to the question of the headship of the Tibetan state. The only way of throwing light upon this problem lies through a detailed enquiry into the true character of the highest offices of the state.

As for the lower sections of the administrative machinery, on which the information available is rather scanty, they remained throughout this period much the same as they had gradually come into existence during the preceding century.

We shall now proceed to examine one by one the main features of the Tibetan government.

A. The Dalai-Lama

The temporal rights of the Dalai-Lama go back to the donation made in 1642 by the Qōšot ruler Guśri Khan to the Fifth Dalai-Lama.[1] Its terms are not very clear, at least not from our Western point of view. So much is sure, the donation recognized to the Dalai-Lama the undisputed supremacy over the Tibetan church. It placed also all the resources of the state at his disposal for the purpose of furthering the welfare of the Lamaist religion, through the grant of sovereign rights over the 13 provinces (*k'ri-skor*) of Tibet.

At that time the Dalai-Lama was not equipped with the proper machinery for undertaking the actual administration, nor possessed

---

[1] See Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, pp. 66-67.

an adequate military strength of his own to give it a solid backing. Perhaps also it was not expected of a holy personnage of such a high standing that he should directly concern himself with administrative work.[1] It was on these considerations that the office of *sde-srid* was created, to carry on the government of the country; the only temporal right reserved to the Dalai-Lama was to decide the appeals brought before him against the judicial decisions of the *sde-srid*.[2] But only a few years afterwards the Fifth Dalai-Lama asserted his capacity and willingness to carry on a personal government, by appointing the *sde-srid* at his will for rather short terms (a nominal right of confirmation remaining with the Qōšot Khan), by closely controlling him, and quite often by taking direct action without reference to the *sde-srid*. When the Dalai-Lama in his old age left the reins of the government in the trusted hands of Sańs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o (1679), the above-sketched process underwent an involution, and the Dalai-Lama seemed once more to drop out of active politics. The personality of the Sixth Dalai-Lama was certainly not made for stopping this development; that gay toper was more than content to leave the worries of government to the experienced *sde-srid*. But a new principle had been established once and for all, viz. that the Dalai-Lama, besides his undisputed theoretical right of sovereignty, was able and willing to act as the head of the state, if circumstances were favourable.

The catastrophe of 1706 sharply changed the situation, and the factual conditions of the Dalai-Lama in the following 45 years influenced also his political status. From 1706 to 1720 there was a complete eclipse. First the see was practically vacant for several years, because the puppet of Lajang Khan, unrecognized by the greater part of the church, enjoyed no authority whatsoever, not even in the spiritual sphere. Then for three years the Dsungars maintained the fiction of governing in the name of an absent Dalai-Lama. All this completely ruined his temporal prospects. When the Chinese installed the Seventh Dalai-Lama in Lhasa (1720), they completely ignored his theoretical rights; neither was he in a position to stand up for their enforcement. The Tibetan government then set up did recognize the religious supremacy of the Dalai-Lama; but politically it was and remained a creation

[1] This dislike was still felt even in the present century. Bell, *The Religion of Tibet*, Oxford 1931, p. 191.

[2] *Rappresentanza dei Padri Cappuccini* etc., in *MITN*, III, p. 144.

of the Chinese. This is what makes the great difference between the period before 1706 and that after 1720. Before 1706 the government was practically (not so theoretically) appointed by the Dalai-Lama and controlled by him; the long minority of the Sixth Dalai-Lama under the tutelage of the *sde-srid* is an exception in appearance only. After 1720 the government was appointed by the Chinese, and, because of the distance and bad organization, was little or not at all controlled by them. Nevertheless it was to be expected that with the slackness of Chinese supervision and the coming of age of the Dalai-Lama, the latter would have slowly increased his influence; there were several signs pointing that way. But the outcome of the civil war of 1727/8, which was partly also an attempt at restoration of the power of the Dalai-Lama, seemed to ruin forever all his prospects of a temporal rule. Suspected of complicity in the murder of K'añ-c'en-nas, he was exiled to mGar-t'ar, and all temporal authority became vested in P'o-lha-nas. Even after the Dalai-Lama's return, he had absolutely no political power and was strictly limited to his religious functions.[1] We are justified in saying that the donation of Guśri Khan, unrecognized by the Chinese, lapsed in 1717/20, and that the Dalai-Lama returned to the conditions in which he was in the 16th century: a much respected spiritual chief without a valid title to temporal rule. The events of 1750 and his firm and able handling of the situation offered him a chance of reaching at last that worldly power after which he and his precedessors had striven for some centuries. The Chinese emperor thought it advisable to tacitly recognize the right of the Dalai-Lama to the sovereignty in Tibet. This right was not sanctioned in a formal act, but was taken as granted and considered as having been always exercised, even if through deputies. In any case, the year 1751 saw not so much the revival of Guśri Khan's old donation, as the establishment of a quite new title of sovereignty for the Dalai-Lama. And indeed he had become not so much the successor to the power

---

[1] On this fact both the Chinese and the Italian missionaries agree. A Chinese document of *i-ch'ou*/XII = January 14th, 1748, states clearly that "the Dalai-Lama presides over Buddhism in the western countries, while P'o-lha-nas governs the Tibetan people"; *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 280, ff. 4a-5a. Father Costantino da Loro, in a letter dated Lhasa, September 22th, 1741, writes: "The Grand Lama at present has not the slightest power; he must only attend to the welfare of the living, transferring on them his merits"; in *MITN*, II, p. 35.

of the Fifth Dalai-Lama, who had controlled the government without actually undertaking it, but the heir, with some limitations, to the sovereignty of P'o-lha-nas; that is, he conducted the government with the assistance of his council, but was in some degree controlled by the Chinese. In 1642 there had been no actual differentiation between religious and political power. In 1706 this distinction was sharply drawn, and the two powers rested in separate hands. In 1751 the powers were reunited in the same person.[1]

The powers of the Dalai-Lama after 1751 are set forth with sufficient clearness in Doc. XI and in the *Wei-tsang-t'u-chih*. They were considerable, because every important decision of the ministers must be referred to the Dalai-Lama for his sanction; the appointments of the district governors, provincial commanders and officers of the army were made by him on the proposal of the council and with the approval of the ambans. On the other hand, he could act only through the medium of the council of *bka'-blon*. But this system of government was organized in such a way that it allowed ample scope for the energy and enterprise of the Dalai-Lama, particularly if Chinese supervision was inefficient. What an energetic pontiff could do under this system, without substantially modifying it, is shown by the life work of the Thirteenth Dalai-Lama.

B. The Qōśot Khan

Gušri Khan conquered Tibet with his own forces and handed it as a gift to the Fifth Dalai-Lama. His position henceforward was that

[1] This development and changing conditions of the powers in Tibet did not pass unperceived by the keen intelligence and great experience of the members of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide in Rome, who from the letters despatched by the Lhasa missionaries drew nearly the same conclusions as I have. In the minute (in Italian) of a memorial sent by Cardinal Belluga to the king of Spain in order to obtain from him funds for the Tibetan mission, the situation in Tibet is summarized as follows: "Before 1720 Tibet belonged to the Grand Lama, both in the spiritual and in the temporal. He appointed a man with the title of king (the Qōśot Khan) to defend the realm, giving him powers over everything connected with military affairs, with the faculty of appointing the officers of the army. He appointed also another man to act as his vice-gerent (the *sde-srid*) to govern the whole kingdom in his name, in respect of both civil and political affairs, with his council of state composed of four persons.... In 1721 the emperor placed on the throne a Tibetan, giving him complete powers in things temporal, which earlier belonged to the Grand Lama, and left to the latter the spiritual only, with the revenues sufficient for his support" *MITN*, III, p. 176.

of a "defender of the faith", i.e. he had the responsibility of the military defence of Tibet and of the protection of the Dalai-Lama. The army and everything connected with it were in the exclusive charge of the Khan. Though Guśri Khan and his successors were not in permanent residence in Lhasa, we see them intervening personally every time a danger from outside is threatening the Tibetan government. Apart from this, they did not interfere with the administration. Even the appointment of the *sde-srid*, at first a right belonging to them, soon slipped out of their hands. Their relations with the Dalai-Lama in this period were somewhat indefinite. They were not his subordinates; they could not dictate their policy to him. Theirs was rather the position of a powerful ally, not that of a protecting power in the modern sense.

When Lajang Khan carried out his coup in 1705/6, he took over all the powers formerly belonging to the *sde-srid*. In his double capacity as political and military chief, he was to all purposes the absolute ruler of Tibet; the Dalai-Lama was a puppet in his hands and the Chinese emperor only a benevolent and distant ally. Thus he wielded such power as not even Guśri Khan had ever enjoyed. It looked like the establishment of an absolute and hereditary Mongol monarchy in Tibet. But the Dsungar storm shattered at one blow the Qōśot power. The reason for this is that the basis had become too slender for supporting such a far-reaching policy. We must remember that in 1658 the sons of Guśri Khan had divided the heritage, the younger sons keeping the Kukunor territories along with the greater part of the clansmen, and the first-born inheriting his father's rights in Tibet and the headship of the remaining clansmen.[1] When the storm broke out, the Qōśots under Lajang Khan were too few to oppose effective resistance to the invader, and their power was easily crushed beyond possibility of redress.

C. The regent

Under this title I gather two distinct though related offices: the *sde-srid* of 1642-1706 and the "king" of 1728-1750. Enough has already been said of the character of both. The *sde-srid* was originally only an official (though the highest in the state) appointed by and depending from the Qōśot Khan at first, and later from the Dalai-Lama. During the Fifth Dalai-Lama's old age and the Sixth's

[1] L. Petech, Notes on Tibetan history, pp. 266-267.

minority, Sańs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o gathered all power in his hands and made his office the actual head of the state, practically uncontrolled and acting quite on his own authority even in matters of foreign policy.[1] But this disproportionate increase of the *sde-srid*'s authority depended merely on the overpowering personality of its holder and on the non-entity of the Dalai-Lama; it can be doubted whether it would have survived the death of Sańs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o. Such as it was, Lajang Khan cut short to the importance of the office. The son and successor of Sańs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o was a mere tool in his hands, and after some months the office was abolished altogether.

The office of *sa-skyoń* filled by sTag-rtse-pa under Dsungar occupation was closely connected with that of *sde-srid*, but had not by far the same importance. It enjoyed little authority, and the country was ruled, or rather ruthlessly kept in submission, directly by the Dsungar commander.

In 1721 the Chinese refused to reestablish the post of *sde-srid*, which reminded them of Sańs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o's unfriendly policy towards them during the nineties of the 17th century. It is true that the president of the council of ministers was given the title of *sde-srid* by the people, but his office bore quite a different character, as he was only a primus inter pares.

The new regent appointed, or rather recognized, by the Chinese in 1728 bore after 1740 the title of *wang*, or "prince" for the Chinese, but "king" for the European missionaries. And a king in truth he was. P'o-lha-nas and after him 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal exercised their power in their own name and authority, without reference to the Dalai-Lama. The Chinese supervision was merely nominal; it was non-existent in internal affairs and limited itself to the control of external relations. The rule of the regent was absolute. The council of ministers had sunk to a mere executive organ, and the provincial administration was controlled by the nominees of the regent. The right to *'u-lag*, or compulsory transport service for government officials, had become a monopoly of the regent. The aristocracy was repressed and kept strictly under control. As the office was hereditary, none of the conditions for the continuance of a royal dynasty were lacking; the Chinese would perhaps have placed

[1] Cfr. his intervention in the struggle between Galdan and K'ang-hsi. Zahiruddin Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan relations in the seventeenth century*, Rome 1970, pp. 286-323.

it under stricter control, but certainly would not have abolished it. But 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's folly destroyed the work of P'o-lha-nas. The office and the title were done away with, never to return again.

The "regents" (*rgyal-ts'ab*) that we meet again in Tibetan history,[1] represented no permanent office, but, like the regents in European monarchies, managed the government of the Dalai-Lama during the latter's minority; they were mostly high dignitaries of the church. When the Dalai-Lama came of age at 18, the office of regent naturally ceased. This is the reason why more than one regent was tempted to do away with the Dalai-Lama before he reached his 18th year, in order to perpetuate his own authority. But these officials were only a sort of temporary caretaker of the Dalai-Lama's sovereignty, and enjoyed no independent authority.

D. The Council of *bka'-blon*

The executive duties under the head of the state, whoever he might be, were performed by a council of four ministers called *bka'-blon*. This council is known to have existed between 1642 and 1705/6, but we hear very little about its activity. Under Lajang Khan it enjoyed little standing or power, and as a matter of fact seldom if ever mentioned in Tibetan or Chinese sources. But we know from the *Breve Relazione* of Fr. Domenico da Fano that during the period 1707-1711 the council existed and was composed of four Mongol *ǰaisang*, to the exclusion of Tibetans. Their main functions seem to have been judicial.[2]

The council was renewed by the Chinese in 1721, but was given a very different character. Its status was no longer that of an administrative body, but it ranked as the head of the state; it was a sort of collective praesidium (as in the Soviet constitution) or directory (as in the French constitution of 1795), with no authority superior to it, except for loose Chinese supervision. Its composition had also changed. The members were no longer Qōśot chiefs or Tibetan professional officials accustomed to routine work under the superior direction of the head of the state; they were great Tibetan nobles, hereditary chiefs of districts, each of whom cared

[1] On the series of the Tibetan regents see L. Petech, The Dalai-Lamas and regents of Tibet, in *T'oung Pao*, 47 (1959), pp. 368-394.

[2] "When the king is absent, there are four princes with the title of Ciesani, who govern the country; they are at present Tartars"; *MITN*, III, p. 16.

above all for his own territory and considered the council only as the fighting ground for his personal ambitions, not as a living organism. This change in character was much for the worse. Free from efficient supervision and unaccustomed to team work, the members soon ceased to function collegiately, and each of them acted for himself, not departmentally but territorially. If this council had lasted, it would have dissolved Tibet into a loose federation of feudal states. But the result of the struggle in its midst was its utter collapse and the civil war of 1727/8.

The council as reconstituted in 1728 had again a different character. Composed at first of two members, then of three, then once again of four, it was the executive organ of the regent. Its members were at first trained professional officials, who came from the finance department or from other public offices. Its authority was at first limited to dBus, gTsaṅ being placed under the direct administration of the ruler. When the council was expanded, the representatives of the old territorial aristocracy found again their entrance in it; probably about the same time its authority was tacitly extended to gTsaṅ. These ministers can scarcely be said to have formed a council. Each *bka'-blon* was in charge of a department of the administration (the texts do not give particulars on this score) and was responsible directly to the "king" and not to the council as a whole. In the last part of P'o-lha-nas's reign the ministers even ceased to hold regular meetings in the council house, each *bka'-blon* transacting his official business at his home and reporting directly to the "king". It was a state of affairs which reminds us vaguely of the U.S.A. cabinet.

The council of 1721 had been too powerful. After it was smashed, the Chinese court went to the opposite extreme, and the council of 1728 was again, as under Lajang Khan, a shadowy body unable to check or restrain the power of the "king". It was only in 1751 that the just balance of powers was found. The personnel of P'o-lha-nas's and 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's council was taken over by the Chinese, as they had taken over Lajang Khan's officials in 1721; in their dependencies the Chinese always stood for continuity of the tradition. But the nature of the council changed again. By law, the number of members was fixed at four. The Chinese insisted on its resuming the character of a collective body. It was to meet in the council-house and all decisions were to be taken by common agreement and under common responsibility; no departmental

specialisation was allowed. The character of the council as a committee of professional administrators was on the whole maintained, although it was not always possible, specially under minorities of the Dalai-Lama, to avoid its being influenced by the most powerful noblemen. On the whole the council, or *bka'-śag* as it is usually called, may remind us of a Western European council of ministers, and the more so since in the course of time a measure of departmental specialisation was gradually established. It served its purpose remarkably well and maintained its character for 200 years down to 1959.

The council had a staff of its own; the highest officials were the two *bka'-śag mgron-gñer*. We may suppose that their functions consisted (as in the following century) in transmitting the orders of the council and supervising their execution.[1] There was also an unknown number of secretaries or writers of the council (*bka'-sag druṅ-yig*; later shortened into *bka'-druṅ*).

It does not appear that the later-day distinction between lay officials (*śod-druṅ* or *druṅ-'k'or*) and ecclesiastic officials (*rtse-druṅ*) was formally in existence; as the Dalai-Lama had no political functions during the whole of this period, his establishment and its staff had little of nothing to do with the government. And indeed the *druṅ-'k'or* alone are mentioned in our texts.[2]

Little is known about the several departments of the central government during these years. We only have some scattered information about the judiciary, the finance department, the army, the *'u-lag* and postal service, and the provincial government.

E. Judiciary

On the organization of Tibetan justice the Tibetan texts are nearly silent. According to the *Wei-tsang-t'u-chih*, at the head of the judi-

---

[1] We know from Fr. Cassiano that there were also some *mgron-gñer* at the court of the ruler, with the functions of comptrollers of the household (*maestri di casa*); *MITN*, IV, p. 113. Fr. Gioacchino da S. Anatolia describes these court *mgron-gñer* as chamberlains (*camerieri*); *MITN*, III, p. 239. In these functions they were attached also to great personages other than the Dalai-Lama. Fr. Gioacchino da S. Anatolia (letter of November 20th, 1724) mentions a *mgron-gñer* of the father of the Dalai-Lama; *MITN*, I, p. 126.

[2] E.g. *L7DL*, f. 384b.

ciary there was the *nań-so-p'yag*.[1] But I never met with such a title in the Tibetan texts of this period.

Fr. Domenico da Fano, writing in 1713, give a sketch of the judicitary under Lajang Khan's rule. Criminal justice belonged to the council of ministers. Cases in which no capital offence was involved, were heard by a lesser council formed of eight *ǰaisang*. Civil suits in Lhasa were dealt with by the governor of the town and a law officer with the title of vice-governor. The task of the governor was to examine the cases, to preside over the proceedings and to supervise the execution of the sentence. But death sentences were given by the king alone, or in his absence by the council of ministers.[2]

Fr. Orazio della Penna too [3] gives us a short and less clear sketch of judicial organization in 1730. In Lhasa normal jurisdiction was exercised by the three city magistrates (*mi-dpon*) [4], who heard cases daily in their residence. From their decisions litigants could appeal to the officials whom Della Penna calls "revisors of the cases"; I suppose these are the magistrates called in the *MBTJ* with the literary title of *k'rims-kyi-žal-lce-mk'an*, judges of the law. Their normal style was *bśer-dpaṅ*; they were two in number, both of them lay officials.[5] From these revisors the appeal went through the council of ministers to the ruler, and in very special cases to the Dalai-Lama. Fr. Orazio seems to make no distinction between civil and criminal cases.

Fr. Cassiano da Macerata does not speak of the judiciary; he merely mentions in passing the three *mi-dpon* of Lhasa, whom he calls *kutubal* (Hind. *kotvāl*); their retinue included twelve *korciapa* (*skor-lcag-pa*) or policemen.[6]

---

[1] *JRAS*, 1891, p. 220; Rockhill wrongly reconstructed the title as *nań-mdsod-p'yag*. — We may recall that at the court of the princes of gTsaṅ in the 15th century there was a *nań-so-c'en-mo*, with the functions of a chief justice; Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica* vol. IV, 11, p. 276; and *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 35.

[2] *MITN*, III, pp. 16-17.

[3] In *MITN*, III, pp. 65-66.

[4] This title means "chief of men". The Lhasa *mi-dpon* are well attested in the *LTDL* (e.g. f. 498 a etc.). In the 19th and 20th century there were only two *mi-dpon*, both lay officials; R. Rahul, *The government and politics of Tibet*, Delhi 1969, p. 35.

[5] R. Rahul, Op. cit., p. 37. The Chinese texts know them by the imperfect transcription *hsieh-êrh-po-mu* 謝爾布木.

[6] *MITN*, IV, p. 135.

Although it is nearly impossible to check the accounts of the Capuchin Fathers with other sources, still, as the authors were eye-witness, we can assume them to be fairly accurate, with due allowance made for possible misapprehensions and inaccuracies.

In the times of the Qōšot Khans, judicial power in the provincial towns seems to have been in the hands of a provincial magistrate (*k'rims-kyi-k'a-lo-pa*). But no trace of this office is found after the Dsungar invasion, and in the times of P'o-lha-nas judicial power lay with the civil governor (*rdsoṅ-dpon*). The appeal from these tribunals, if allowed, went to the council of ministers at Lhasa.

The law applied in Tibetan courts was the old code traditionally attributed to king Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po and revised first by Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an of P'ag-mo-gru and a second time by the Fifth Dalai-Lama and the *sde-srid* Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o.[1] The edition of this code used in the 18th century comprised 41 sections in three volumes.[2]

On the practical working of Tibetan justice we are informed by the Italian missionaries and the Chinese documents. In Lhasa the seat of the tribunal was in the Bla-braṅ, i.e. the buildings alongside the 'P'rul-snaṅ temple. Litigation was discouraged by the parties being compelled to deposit a certain sum with the court; small disputes were therefore usually settled out of court. Criminal law was very severe, even barbarously so. Capital punishment was inflicted for a large number of crimes. Its forms were beheading, drowning, or the *brkyaṅ-śiṅ*, a square vertical frame crossed by two beams in the shape of an X, to which the culprit was tied and shot at with arrows. Highway robbery with murder was usually punished with the *brkyaṅ-śiṅ*; for less grave cases there was exile to a fortress in the southern districts, where the criminals invariably died of hunger and thirst in the jails of the governor. Simple robbery was punished by cutting off the right hand, or (in lighter cases) by the bastinado. Adultery was punished by a fine or a whipping; common brawls by a fine. For many other crimes there was imprisonment, of the particularly cruel Tibetan kind; no food and no clothing were provided for the prisoner, who was dependent on the support of his relatives. Private vengeance was strictly forbidden. The fines realized were kept by the *mi-dpon*, who at the end of each year handed over the total amount to the council of ministers.

[1] Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 37.

[2] *Wei-tsang-t'u-chih*, in JRAS 1891, p. 216.

Procedure was swift and the case was judged at once, normally on the day after its filing. The employment of advocates was permitted, but the time allowed to them for their speeches was severely limited. In civil suits the proofs admitted were written documents or oral witness. In criminal cases ordeal was freely used, mostly by compelling the accused to extract a white stone out of a cauldron of boiling oil, or by licking or grasping a red-hot iron.[1]

F. The finance department

The finance department (*rtsis-k'aṅ*) was given special care. We have already spoken of P'o-lha-nas's reforms there. Otherwise, for this period we have only stray references in the Tibetan texts, but no direct evidence.[2] What we can glean from our texts is this. The department seems to have been under the particular control of one of the ministers. The managing directors were the three *rtsis-dpon* (finance director), who often went on tours to control the finances of the provincial governors.

The most important part of the finance department was the central treasury, situated then as well as now in the Bla-braṅ palace; at its head there was one (perhaps more) official called *p'yag-mdsod-pa* (treasurer).[3] After the reorganization by P'o-lha-nas, it was a well-arranged establishment, and the accounts were carefully kept on ledgers (*debt-t'er*).[4]

The private treasury of the Dalai-Lama (*'p'ral-bde p'yag-mdsod*) is not much in evidence during this period; we have only a few stray references [5] and its importance seems to date from the reforms of 1792.

---

[1] Della Penna, in *MITN*, III, pp. 65-70. Fr. Domenico da Fano, in *MITN*, III, pp. 15-17. Desideri, in *MITN*, VI, pp. 26 and 76-78; Markham, *Narratives of the mission of George Bogle* in *Tibet* etc., London 1879, pp. 101-102; *Wei-tsang-t'u-chih* in *JRAS* 1891, pp. 129, 216-218; S. Ch. Das, Tibetan Jails and Criminal punishments, in *PASB* 1894, pp. 5-8.

[2] The Chinese manual of administration *Li-fan-yüan tsê-li* 理藩院則例 (edition of 1816) partly translated by Rockhill in *JRAS* 1891, refers to a later period, after the reforms of 1792. So does ch. 9 of the *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih* (on administration).

[3] The Bla-braṅ *p'yag-mdsod* is mentioned also in *L7DL*, f. 538b. Later the treasurer was popularly known by the abbreviation *bla-p'yag*.

[4] The treasury and finance offices in the Bla-braṅ are described by Desideri, in *MITN*, VI, p. 26. This description holds also good for modern conditions; Ch. Bell, *The religion of Tibet*, p. 196.

[5] E.g. *L7DL*, f. 385a.

Of course the autonomous temporal dominion of the Paṇ-c'en had a separate financial organization, with its own finance-directors and treasury.

Tibetan finance was then wholly based on natural produce. In this period and for a long time afterwards there were no Tibetan coins. For centuries the only minted metal in circulation had been the rupees coined by the three kingdoms of Nepal (till 1768). The Chinese introduced their silver taels, which soon became very popular.[1] But although important for trade purposes, money had little or no importance in the finance administration.

The income was mainly derived from direct taxation. We may safely surmise that, notwithstanding the lapse of years and the many abuses which crept in and which P'o-lha-nas strove to eliminate, the assessment was still based on the general census taken by order of the Fith Dalai-Lama in 1663. Its results were carefully recorded, and to these records probably refer the mention of 300 ledgers at the time of P'o-lha-nas's reorganization. These ledgers contained also the cadastre or land survey, and all rentals due and changes of property were duly registered in them.[2] It seems that in the capital all the ground belonged to the government, and purchases of plots of building land were more in the character of a perpetual lease.[3] Monasteries and their property were exempt form taxation. For the remaining population, the tax-paying unit was the *t'eb* or household (lit. threshold). Each *t'eb* must pay a fixed contribution yearly (*lag-yoṅ, lag-'bab*), consisting basically of a

---

[1] Desideri, in *MITN*, VI, p. 69. Bogle's Memorandum on the trade of Tibet (of December 12th 1774), in Markham, pp. 128-129; better and more detailed is Bogle's *Memorandum on the money and merchandise of Tibet* (of April 19th, 1779), published by D. B. Diskalkar, Bogle's embassy to Tibet, in *IHQ* IX (1933), pp. 431-432.

[2] In 1724 the purchase by the Capuchins of a piece of land in Lhasa, for the purpose of building a small convent and a church, was registered in the books (*libri camerali*) of *la varanga* (sic, for *lavaranga*, Bla-braṅ). Fr. Gioacchino da S. Anatolia's *Ragguaglio*, in *MITN*, III, p. 215.

[3] In a report of the Procurator General of the Capuchins to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide about the financial situation of the mission, dated November 9th, 1730, it is stated that "in Lhasa it is not permissible to sell immovable property, which according to the law of the realm remains as property of the Varanga (Bla-braṅ), which is like the Reverend Apostolic Chamber in the Church State". Archives of Propaganda Fide, Rome, *Scr. Congressi*, vol. 20, f. 286b.

certain number of *k'al* (about two pounds) of barley.[1] Taxation was always in kind, several other items being accepted instead of barley: cattle, sheep carcases, cloth, butter, iron, rarely cash. Owing to the exemptions granted to the enormous estates of the monasteries, the tax-paying population was comparatively small and composed of the poorest elements of the people. No wonder that taxation was quite oppressive and that the taxpayers often complained of their unbearable conditions.

The taxes were collected and stored by the provincial governors. Each of them had under him two *p'yag-mdsod-pa* (treasurers) in charge of finance, customs and public works.[2] Once a year the governors transmitted their accounts and the net balance of their revenue to Lhasa.

Another source of income was derived from the custom duties of the various barriers and toll-gates at the frontier. We know these duties to have been heavy and practically left to the will of the custom officers; the letters of the Italian missionaries are full of complaints about the irritating oppressiveness of the customs people, and this in spite of the letters of exemption which the missionaries nearly always obtained from the government. The market duties too yielded a considerable income. Since 1738 a small yearly contribution of 5000 taels was also regularly paid by the Chinese treasury out of the custom revenue of Ta-chien-lu.

The main items of expense, besides the costs of general administration. were firstly the subsidies regularly paid to some of the great monasteries, the occasional gifts to sanctuaries or to great lamas, and the sums spent on certain periodical feasts, particularly the great *smon-lam* festival held yearly at Lhasa during the first fortnight of the first month.[3] Secondly there was (chiefly for the period of P'o-lha-nas's rule) the military expenditure, both for the Tibetan standing army and for the contribution towards the supplies of the Chinese garrison.

G. The army

The Tibetan standing army was created by P'o-lha-nas. Before his time, the Tibetan government had depended on the regional

[1] Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, pp. 69-70.

[2] Fr. Amiot in *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, p. 150.

[3] Fr. Cassiano da Macerata gives a detailed account of the enormous expenses of the *smon-lam* ceremonies; *MITN*, IV, pp. 123-127.

and feudal levies, which were summoned every time an emergency occurred. As a general rule, every five families had to give a soldier for the militia (*yul-dmag*) and had to supply him with arms, accoutrements, food and pay. An exception was mÑa'-ris; in this important strategic region every single family had to give a soldier. The militiamen were gathered together by the provincial governors and assigned to the various corps (infantry and cavalry) according to the financial means of their families. The officers were drawn from the more well-to-do families. The general expenses of the militia were paid by the province to which they belonged. As soon as the war for which they were summoned was over, the militiamen returned to their homes. The lowest officer rank was that of the *ldiṅ-dpon*; higher ranks were the *brgya-dpon* (commander of one hundred) and *ru-dpon*. Military affairs at the district headquarters were entrusted to a *brgya-dpon* or a *ru-dpon*, according to the importance of the district. This military commander was equal in rank with the district governor (*rdsoṅ-dpon*), and this fact gave origin to the system of dual governorship, which was prevalent in Tibet before 1951. At the top of the military organization there were the *mda'-dpon* or provincial generals. There were three *mda'-dpon* in gTsaṅ and only one in dBus; a second dBus *mda'-dpon* was added in 1751. Their charge was in this period the apanage of a few noble families: lCaṅ-lo-can-pa, P'uluṅ-ba, Ram-pa-ba in gTsaṅ; 'Bum-t'aṅ-pa in dBus. Their authority, however, did not extend to mÑa'-ris, which had a special organization; supreme civil and military authority there was vested in the two *sgar-dpon*, on whom see later. The armament of the militia was primitive; it consisted of swords, lances and bows and arrows, with some blunderbusses. The artillery consisted mainly of swivels, though there were some large cannon mounted on carts with large wheels; but their use in open warfare was quite exceptional.[1]

The Tibetan militia described above was not very reliable, took time to assemble, was undisciplined and ill-armed and, being composed of husbandmen, could not be kept under arms for any long

[1] There is no special account of the Tibetan army, and the above sketch is based mainly on the scattered evidence found in various texts. Some incomplete accounts, extracted from the *Ta-ch'ing i-tung-chih*, depicting conditions about 1740, are found in Fr. Amiot, *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, XIV, pp. 142-143 and 147, and in *Eine chinesische Beschreibung von Tibet*, pp. 22 and 24. Cf. also the short account of the Tibetan militia in the time of Lajang Khan given by Desideri, in *MITN*, VI, pp. 79-80.

period. P'o-lha-nas saw the inconvenients of this state of affairs, and after the civil war he began organizing and training a small but efficient professional army of 10.000 horse and 15.000 foot, on which he bestowed much care. Well officered by the most trusted comrades of P'o-lha-nas, men who had proved their mettle in the battles of the civil war, this army soon became a quite respectable force. No part of it seems to have been quartered in or near Lhasa, a town which had already the Chinese garrison to lodge. It was distributed in various provincial garrisons and in great detachments in the northern districts, on the watch against the Dsungars. Its absence from the capital prevented it from taking part in the upheaval of 1750 and saved it from disbandment. But of course the new ecclesiastic government did not bestow on the army the same fostering care as the regent had done, and its efficiency declined; this was sadly experienced during the Gurkha war of 1791/2. At the side of the standing army, the militia organization was of course still maintained.

H. Postal service and *'u-lag*

For the conveyance of travelling officials and of government despatches, the system prevailing in Tibet from olden times was that of the *'u-lag*, a word of Turkish origin denoting socage, or compulsory labour due by the population to the government. In this case it meant (and still means today) the supplying of porters, drivers and horses or yaks sometimes for quite long periods. As the travelling season coincides with the agricultural season, it meant a heavy burden on the shoulders of the people, who had to give away men and beasts sometimes even for three or four months, just when they were most needed in the fields. Besides being oppressive and irritating, the system was not made for efficiency or speed. In 1729 P'o-lha-nas reformed this service too, on the model of the Chinese mail stages system, which he had seen at work after 1721. The service was entrusted to officers sent from Lhasa and was carried out by means of good horses belonging to the central government. It stretched from Lhasa to mÑa'-ris on the one hand and to mDo-k'ams on the other.[1] This system was expensive, but so efficient that the Chinese entrusted to it the carriage of their own mail. We have seen how this gave origin to a grave inconve-

[1] *MBTJ*, f 326a.

nience, viz. that the Tibetan government could stop at will communications between Lhasa and Peking. The Chinese therefore after 1751 resumed their own postal service; P'o-lha-nas's mail disappeared and the Tibetan government again employed the *'u-lag*, or else used the Chinese mail, when the ambans chose to authorize it.

'U-lag was also due for public works and for several other purposes. It should have been a service due to the Dalai-Lama alone, but P'o-lha-nas appropriated it more and more for his private use, making money out of it. When Fr. Cassiano journeyed to Lhasa in winter 1740/41, he found that *'u-lag* service was granted by P'o-lha-nas to travelling merchants, evidently against payment.[1] Of course it was of common occurrence that P'o-lha-nas allowed his favorites to enjoy the same privilege. One of the first thing the Chinese did in 1751, was therefore to remove these abuses. Henceforward and down to the end *'u-lag* was only due to officials or other men holding a document to this effect issued case for case by the Dalai-Lama's government, the use of which was strictly controlled.[2]

I. Provincial government

The government of the districts had been traditionally the task and privilege of the local aristocracy. Even when the political power of the nobles declined, the Lhasa government continued to appoint the local aristocrats to these posts; basing themselves on their private estates, they could be trusted to administer a district more easily and with less expense than a governor sent out from Lhasa. The title of these district governors was *sde-pa*, and the office not seldom passed from father to son.[3] Of course when the central government grew weak, these governors became half independent and acted quite at their own will. Of greater units, in this period there were only three, the governments of dBus (always under direct control of the central government), gTsaṅ and mNa'-ris. There were apparently no single officials appointed to control the district governors of the east and north of the country. The district governor was thus the basis of the government machinery outside Lhasa.

---

[1] *MITN*, IV, p. 72.

[2] Several European travellers have given accounts of *'u-lag* travelling arrangements. A graphic description can be read e.g. in chapters 23-25 of Filchner, *Om mani padme hum*, Leipzig 1929.

[3] On the provincial *sde-pa* see Desideri, *MITN*, VI, p. 76.

The Chinese recognized their importance and tried to bring them together to rule the whole country. But this attempt to entrust the biggest provincial rulers with the central government failed lamentably. In the civil war we see gTsaṅ, mÑa'-ris and the districts of the other regions acting as independent units, forming alliances and raising armies on their own account. This sliding back of Tibet towards the century-old anarchy which had been ended in 1642, was energetically halted by P'o-lha-nas. gTsaṅ he maintained under his personal rule (except for the new temporal rights of the Paṇ-c'en), and dBus was governed as before directly from Lhasa. As to the south-eastern, eastern and northern districts, the details of his action against the local governors escape us. The process was very gradual and moderate, and provoked no concerted resistance. Step by step he placed his own men in charge of the districts. As these favourites often preferred to remain in Lhasa, actual government of the districts was carried out by their protegees or even slaves; this made provincial government still more strictly dependent from Lhasa. At the end of his twenty years' rule, the great provincial lords had disappeared from the scene. Tibet was divided in 53 districts; of these, 52 were governed by officials appointed by and dependent from the government of Lhasa. The 53rd district was represented by the autonomous principality of Sa-skya.[1]

The modern organization of the districts in its broad outlines goes back to the reforming work of P'o-lha-nas, of which the main characteristics were the following. At the head of a district, of which there were thirty in dBus alone, there was a civil governor (*rdsoṅ-dpon* or *rdsoṅ-sdod*) and a military commander with equal status. The former was exclusively charged with the administrative affairs and with the maintenance of law and order. This system then underwent a slow evolution, and before 1950 the two governors (both called *rdsoṅ-dpon*), appointed usually for a period of three years, were on a foot of complete equality and the distinction between civil and military had become obsolete. In some outlying districts (e.g. Nag-ts'aṅ, Sa-dga'), where the population consisted chiefly of nomads, the local governor had the title of *'go-pa* (some-

[1] Letter of Fr. Costantino da Loro, dated Lhasa, October 11th, 1741, in *MITN*, II, p. 41, where the number actually given is 23; this must be, however, a mistake. On the administration of Sa-skya see C. W. Cassinelli and R. B. Ekvall, *A Tibetan principality: the political system of Sa-skya*, Ithaca 1969.

time *mgo-pa*), which probably indicated a more rough-and-ready and flexible administration.

Of the great historical provinces of dBus, gTsaṅ, K'ams and mÑa'-ris, the two first were not administrative units, but merely geographic and ethnic expressions; the district governors were directly subordinate to the central government. K'ams was largely independent under its numerous local chiefs; there was, however, in the northern part of that region a representative of the central government, styled the mDo *sgar-dpon*.[1] His functions were indefinite, but possibly more on the lines of a resident in vassal states. mÑa'-ris occupied a particular position. This great province was a late addition to Tibet (1684) and was still considered as a territory enjoying a special status. Since the times of Lajang Khan, it had been the fief of K'aṅ-c'en-nas and of his brother. About 1730 P'o-lha-nas took it away from the dGa'-bži family, entrusting it to his elder son Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan. After the death of P'o-lha-nas, the murder of Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan and the end of 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal, the Chinese did away with this last remnant of feudal independence, and refused to recognize more than the bare title of duke of mÑa'-ris for the son of Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan, without political rights. Still, the administration of mÑa-'ris continued to present deep differences from that of the rest of Tibet. In the four districts which compose the province, there was no dual government; there was only one *rdsoṅ-dpon*, in charge of both civil and military affairs. Over the four *rdsoṅ-dpon*, there were at the head of the province two governors called *sgar-dpon*.[2] mÑa'-ris was thus the only greater province which preserved its individuality.

As we have seen, the militia depended from the district governors. The standing army instead depended from the central government. There was a moment in which its commanders seemed to be about to become a political power; that was in 1751, when the five *mda'-dpon* in dBus and gTsaṅ received a greater sphere of influence and seem to have exercised a short of supervision over the local government. But these political powers did not last for long, as it was but natural in a country governed by an ecclesiastic government.

---

[1] E.g. *L7DL*, f. 306a.

[2] For conditions in mÑa'-ris in the thirties of the present century see Tucci & Ghersi, *Cronaca della Missione scientifica Tucci nel Tibet occidentale* (1933), Rome 1934, p. 251; Tucci, *Santi e briganti nel Tibet ignoto*, Milan 1937, pp. 177-178.

Provincial finance was in the hands of the district governors, who remitted the surplus to Lhasa. The regular control and audit by government accountants appears to be a later institution.

Summing up the changes of the Tibetan government from 1642 to 1751, we may conclude that the *sde-srid* can be counted as the actual head of the state from 1642 to 1705, except in the years from 1655 to 1679, when he sank to a mere puppet whose strings were pulled by the Dalai-Lama. From 1706 to 1717 Lajang Khan was the absolute ruler of Tibet. Then for three years Central Tibet was under military occupation by the Dsungars. From 1721 to 1727 the supreme power was wielded by the council of ministers under the chairmanship of K'aṅ-c'en-nas. From 1728 to 1750 we have the hereditary monarchy of P'o-lha-nas and 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal. It is only from 1751 that we may date the actual sovereignty of the Dalai-Lama. This statement may appear to contradict some of the accepted opinions. But I think that in replying in this manner to the question put at the beginning of this chapter, I am expounding the only conclusion we can reach after a careful perusal of contemporary sources.

II. *Chinese supervision*

A. The amban

With the solitary exception of Ho-shou, sent out by K'ang-hsi in 1709, there was no permanent representative of the emperor residing in Lhasa till after the conquest of that city by the Chinese in 1720. Even afterwards, the representative was withdrawn in 1723, and during the following four years we find only officials sent to Lhasa on a special mission, but none in permanent residence. The office of the two ambans,[1] as it existed till 1912, was established only in 1728. There was a senior and a junior amban, but the distinction has been always a purely formal one, both enjoying in point of fact the same authority. After the death of A-êrh-hsün in 1734, one post remained vacant during the following years, and there was only one amban in Lhasa. It was only in 1748 that the emperor reenforced the old rule, which was then scrupulously observed as long as the office lasted. The first ambans (Seṅ-ge and Mala) held office for five years, but after them it became the practice, and soon

[1] For the meaning and origin of the name, see before, p. 87. The Chinese official title was *chu-tsang ta-ch'ên* 駐藏大臣.

the rule, that an amban should remain in Tibet for a maximum of three years; and sometimes he was recalled home even before the end of his term.

During the rule of P'o-lha-nas and his son, the duties of the ambans consisted mainly in holding the command of the small Chinese garrison, ensuring communications with Peking and reporting to the emperor on the doings of the "King". We hear sometimes of their intervention in matters of external relations; but otherwise they never interfered with the Tibetan government.[1] In 1751 the powers of the ambans were greatly increased. Besides commanding the garrison and having exclusive charge of the postal service, their advice had to be taken by the council of *bka'-blon* on every important affair; this gave them a broad right of supervision on the actions of the government. Still, direct intervention of the ambans in administrative work was at first of rare occurrence.[2] As a regular practice, it came later, as the result of the reforms carried out in 1792 after the Gurkha war.[3]

The staff of the ambans in the period under consideration was not large. It comprised one or two military officers of rank not above lieutenant-colonel, and several *ǰaryučі* and *bičēčі*. The latter were the writers of the ambans, and it was to them that the clerical work of the residence was entrusted; [4] they also formed the personal suite of all officials sent to bKra-śis-lhun-po to pay homage to the Paṇ-c'en. As to the *ǰaryučі*, the meaning of this name as given by the dictionaries is "judge". But they hardly can have functioned as such in Lhasa, because there was no independent Chinese judiciary in Tibet during this period. From the Tibetan sources we gather firstly that they were superior in rank to the *bičēčі* and secondly

[1] Fr. Costantino da Loro, in his already quoted letter of October 15th, 1741 writes that the amban "does not interfere on any account with the government of Tibet, but attends only to the command of the Chinese soldiers"; *MITN*, II, p. 74. The above quoted letter of Fr. Costantino da Loro, dated Lhasa, September 22nd, 1741, says that the whole kingdom "is subject to the great emperor of China; but he does not interfere on any account with its government, as he has granted its despotic rule to the present king Mivagn Cugiab (Mi-dbaṅ sKu-žabs)", *MITN*, II, p. 35.

[2] George Bogle writes that the ambans "seldom interfere in the management of the country"; Letter of December 5th, 1774, published by D. B. Diskalkar in *IHQ* IX (1933), p. 424.

[3] On the reforms of 1792 see Rockhill, in *TP* 1910, p. 53.

[4] Mayers, n. 181.

that they were quite often sent out on mission to bKra-śis-lhun-po and elsewhere, when the amban himself preferred to remain in Lhasa. Sagaster [1] has shown that the Chinese equivalent is *yüan-wai-lang* 員外郎, second-class secretary of the *li-fan-yüan*.[2] Their functions were probably those of a secretary to the residence. It was only in 1751 that the offices of the ambans were organized in a proper manner, with the employ of a sufficient number of Manchu banner officers.

B. The garrison of Lhasa

A Chinese garrison in Lhasa was first established in 1721, and its commander then carried out the same functions as the ambans after 1728. It was withdrawn in 1723, and permanently reestablished in 1728 after the civil war. In 1748 or 1749 its strength was reduced to a mere skeleton of a few officers and men, but after 1751 it remained till the 20th century a considerable body, numbering (at least on paper) 1500 men. It was composed of Manchu bannermen and Chinese soldiers from the western provinces in varying proportions. At first it was quartered in Lhasa itself, but it was shifted in 1733 to the Grva-bži barracks north of the town, which remained henceforward their permanent quarters. The garrison was under the direct orders of the ambans, but we may suppose that the actual command of the force was held by the senior military aide-de-camp to the ambans. The troops were paid by the Chinese exchequer, and the money arrived regularly from China in heavily excorted convoys.[3] The supplies were partly purchased on the spot (with funds contributed by the Tibetan government) and partly imported from China.[4]

In the period under consideration the garrison was always concentrated in Lhasa. The only exception was the field force of 1500 drawn from the garrison and stationed every summer from 1730 to 1733 in the fortified military zone of the Tengri-nor. It was commanded by officers appointed directly by the emperor, but a

---

[1] K. Sagaster, *Subud Erike, „Ein Rosenkranz aus Perlen"*, Wiesbaden 1967, p. 106 n.

[2] Mayers, n. 164.

[3] In 1744 two Chinese Christian officers arrived at Lhasa with one of these convoys. Letter of Fr. Orazio della Penna dated Lhasa, September 1st, 1744; in *MITN*, pp. 158-159.

[4] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 299, f. 5b.

right of inspection was reserved to the ambans. Apart from this, there were no other detachments. It was only after 1792 that a small force was permanently stationed at Shigatse, to guard the Paṇ-c'en.

C. The Chinese mail service

Immediately after their expedition of 1720 the Chinese organized a postal relay system on their usual model [1] on the Ta-chien-lu—Li-t'ang—Batang—Lha-ri—Lhasa route. It was based on a series of relay stations, providing food, lodging and fresh mounts for the official couriers. The stages were guarded by Chinese soldiers distributed along the route and based on the two garrisons of Chamdo and Lha-ri. The system ceased to function at the time of the civil war, and in 1728 the Chinese preferred to entrust their communications to P'o-lha-nas's newly established mail service; hence the breakdown of 1750. The postal service was reestablished on the old lines in 1751, and functioned remarkably well for a century and a half, even after the old stage system had fallen into decay in China proper with the advent of Western systems of communication.

D. Tibetan affairs at Peking

In Peking Tibetan affairs were at first managed through the Grand Secretariat (*nei-ko* 內閣). When the Grand Council (*chün-chi-ch'u* 軍機處) was established in 1729-1732, at first with the character of a Bureau of Military Affairs, it took over also the responsibility for Tibetan affairs. The ambans in Lhasa normally corresponded directly with the Grand Council. But in times of crisis they were directed to forward their despatches through the provincial governor of Szechwan. The reason for this seemingly peculiar arrangement was that any military action in Tibet, if such became necessary, would have to be organized by the Szechwan authorities. It was better therefore that they should possess a direct knowledge of the relevant documents and memorials (of which a copy always remained with them), than if they had to be informed of Tibetan events by despatches sent out from Peking.

---

[1] On the Chinese postal service under the Manchu dynasty see Fairbank & Têng, On the transmission of Ch'ing documents, in *HJAS*, 4 (1939), pp. 12-46.

Questions concerning Tibetan tribute missions and the trade relations between Tibet and Kukunor-Kansu-Mongolia were treated by the Mongolian Superintendency (*li-fan-yüan* 理藩院), which seems at times to have had some say also in the appointment of lower officials to Lhasa.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

CONCLUSION

If we analyse Chinese policy towards Tibet during the reigns of K'ang-hsi, Yung-chêng and Ch'ien-lung (1661-1796), we may divide it into the following periods:

1—Till 1705; this period is characterized by the absence of direct political action in Tibet, the Manchu emperors possessing only that shadowy form of suzerainty, which they inherited from the Yüan and the Ming dynasties.

2—Between 1706 and 1717 K'ang-hsi tried to exercise a protectorate over Tibet without military occupation and (except at the beginning) without a regular resident in Lhasa, banking only on the personal loyalty of his friend Lajang Khan. The year 1710 saw the formal proclamation of the Chinese protectorate.

3—After the Dsungar storm had blown over, from 1721-1723 the Tibetan government was supervised by the commandant of the Chinese garrison in Lhasa.

4—From 1723 to 1727 Yung-chêng tried a return to the methods of the second period, withdrawing the troops and leaving the Tibetan government without control.

5—Between 1728 and 1750 the leading ideas of the third period were taken up again, and there were two residents with a garrison; but they had no powers of intervention and their task was only to keep the emperor informed.

6—In 1751 the organization of the protectorate took its final shape, which it maintained, except for some modifications in 1792, till its end in 1912. The ambans were given rights of control and supervision and since 1792 also a direct participation in the Tibetan government.

The Chinese government thus wound their way through several experiments to the only possible form of control over Tibet, the one which was to last for 160 years without serious challenge, and was to disappear only with the collapse of the old order of things in China itself.

The intimate political connection established between China and Tibet in the early 18th century favoured of course some degree of reciprocal influence between the civilizations and the ways of life

of the two countries. But this opportunity for cultural relations was to a great part nullified by the fact that both the Chinese and the Tibetan civilizations had already reached and surpassed their highest point and had to a great extent crystallized along fixed and immovable lines, beyond any possibility of deep-going changes. This is especially true with regard to religion. Orthodox Confucianism would not and could not possibly seek to establish its influence in Tibet. Lamaism on the other side found much favour at the court of the Manchu emperors. Temples were built, texts were printed, great incarnates were recognized and installed; in short, Peking became what to a small extent it remained till recent times: a centre of Lamaism. A most important step in this direction was taken in 1732, when the Yung-chêng emperor transformed the palace, where he had lived before ascending the throne, into the Yung-ho kung 雍和宮; this temple was the Lamaist cathedral of Peking.[1] The high favour enjoyed during the Yung-chêng and Ch'ien-lung period by the T'u-kuan Qutuqtu and the lCaṅ-skya Qutuqtu contributed to enhance the position of the Yellow Church. The climax of its ascendancy was marked by the visit of the Third Paṇ-c'en to Peking in 1780. But this favour was limited to the court circles and to Peking, Jehol and one or two other places. Lamaism never became popular in wider circles. In China proper it did not penetrate among the common people, being limited to Tibetans, Mongols and perhaps some Manchu. As to the Confucian ruling class, it was as contemptuous and coldly hostile towards Lamaism as towards every other foreign religion.

Nor can we speak of any appreciable mutual influence of the two literatures. Both were too standardized and linked to fixed traditional patterns to be able to accept any external influence. Tibetan literature was almost exclusively religious and failed to impress the Chinese literati for the same reasons, wherefore Lamaism could not penetrate China. The Chinese residents in Lhasa, mostly of Manchu extraction, were as a rule no scholars and were too contemptuous of everything Tibetan to concern themselves with native literature. The patronage of the Manchu emperors towards Tibetan scholars resident in China (the lCaṅ-skya Qutuqtu, the T'u-kuan Qutuqtu etc.) did, it is true, substantially favour the development of that

[1] See F. Lessing, *Yung-ho-kung, an iconography of the Lamaist cathedral of Peking*, Stockholm 1942.

copious production of encyclopaedic and compilatory character which marks the 18th century in Tibetan literary history. But these works cannot be said to reveal any appreciable Chinese influence, at least as far as goes our scanty knowledge of them.[1]

Thus the connection between China and Tibet reflected itself mainly in the smaller things of everyday life. Tibet, as the conquered country, was much more frequently the receiver than the giver. It was in this period that many words borrowed from Chinese found their way into Tibetan, while a few Tibetan words became part and parcel of the language of Chinese traders, remaining of course debarred from literary usage.[2]

Also in other fields the influence was wholly one-sided. The dress of Manchu and Chinese officials became popular among the Tibetan ruling classes, which adopted it as state dress in preference to the Tibetan one; and this fashion survived even after the fall of the Manchu dynasty.[3] Chinese cooking too found its way into the Tibetan homes of the upper classes, where it still reigns supreme.

The one big exception in this list of small unimportant things is the deep influence exerted by China on Tibetan painting. The vicissitudes of Tibetan painting have been reconstructed in masterly fashion by Tucci, to whose monumental work I beg the reader to refer. Suffice it to say that Tibetan painting, which had already incorporated some Chinese elements in the 14th and 15th centuries, was subjected in the 18th century to a very deep and far-reaching Chinese influence. In Tucci's words, "a new Tibetan art was then developed, which in a certain sense was a provincial echo of the Chinese 18th century's smooth ornate preciosity". But Tibet "worked out the Chinese style in its own way, so that the model translated in its own language took on a local colour and this new born painting, although inspired by Chinese art, was something

---

[1] Perhaps there was some trace of Chinese influence in the technique of Tibetan historiography of the late 18th century.

[2] B. Laufer, Loan words in Tibetan, in *TP* XVII (1916). Of the loanword from Modern Chinese (nn. 253-311) not a few appear to have been introduced during this period.

[3] See, e.g. the portrait of the Maharaja of Sikkim in full Chinese dress, opposite p. 26 in E. Schäfer, *Geheimnis Tibet*; and the portrait of the *rdsoń-dpon* of Tsaparang, in Tucci & Ghersi, *Cronaca della Missione scientifica Tucci*, p. 253.

different and peculiar".[1] Also Chinese architecture, particularly the typical Chinese roof, influenced to some extent the building fashion in Lhasa and in the greater provincial centres. The artistic influence of China was perhaps the best and most lasting fruit of the renewed contact between the two countries.

---

[1] Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 283.

APPENDIX

CHINESE DOCUMENTS

A. Selected documents from the *Shih-tsung Shih-lu* concerning the civil war of 1727/8

Doc. I

(ch. 52, ff. 29b-30b)

Ting-szŭ/I = February 20th, 1727) The members of the Office for administrative Deliberations (*i-chêng wang ta-ch'ên* 議政王大臣)[1] discussed and reported on a memorial by the imperial clansman brigadier-general Oci which ran as follows: I have gone to Tibet and have carefully investigated the conditions of the country. The men who are at the head of its administration do not agree among themselves; very often this becomes apparent from their words and mien. The Dalai-Lama, although very wise, is still young, and it is unavoidable that he should be biassed in favour of his father bSod-nams-dar-rgyas. K'aṅ-c'en-nas personally is a very fine man; but he trusts overmuch in his merits, despises all the *bka'-blon* (*ka-lung* 噶隆)[2] and is hated by all. Ṅa-p'od-pa (A-êrh-pu-pa 阿爾布巴) has a treacherous character, and he acts in opposition to K'aṅ-c'en-nas. Besides, bSod-nams-dar-rgyas has married two daughters of Lum-pa-nas (Lung-pu-nai 隆布鼐). These three men form a clique. If they instigate the Dalai-Lama to quarrel with K'aṅ-c'en-nas, certainly it will come to open strife and revolt. Again; if the *bka'-blon* are very numerous, this contrarywise [to what might be expected] would increase the complexity and trouble. The behaviour of Lum-pa-nas is treacherous and rebellious. sByar-nas (Cha-êrh-nai 札爾鼐) is a weakling, without abilities. It is neccessary to order these men to retire from their posts of *bka'-blon*. Then Ṅa-p'od-pa will have nobody to support him; of course his

---

[1] The *i-chêng-ch'u* 議政處 was the immediate forerunner of the Grand Council during the first years of the Yung-chêng period. See Fairbank & Têng, On the types and uses of Ch'ing documents. in *HJAS* V (1940), p. 21.

[2] This transcription is used in all the documents of the present Appendix. Another common transliteration, both in the *Shih-lu* and in other texts, is *ka-pu-lun* 噶布倫.

influence will be weakened and there will be nobody to rebel. I pray that a rescript may be issued, proclaiming to the Dalai-Lama, K'aṅ-c'en-nas, and Ṅa-p'od-pa that they must govern the country in good accord.

[The Office proposed]: All these requests should be granted. An amban (*ta-ch'ên*) should be sent to carry this rescript and to proclaim [in Tibet] that they are ordered to carry on the government by common agreement. Again; the maternal uncle of the Dalai-Lama, sKu-mdun *sṅags-rams-pa* (Kun-tu-a-la-mu-pa 袞都阿喇木巴), is sincerely protecting his nephew; we must grant him the title of *darqan* and give him six pieces of silk cloth.—The following rescript was issued. The sub-chancellor of the Grand Secretariat Seṅ-ge and the brigade-general Mala are sent to the residence of the Dalai-Lama; they will be given 1000 taels each.

Doc. II
(ch. 59, f. 22a-b)

(*Kuei-yu*/VII = September 4th, 1727) The *bka'-blon* of Tibet, J̌asak Taiǰi P'o-lha-nas, and others report to the throne: K'aṅ-c'en-nas had waged war against the Dsungars. All the measures which he took were really beneficial. But Ṅa-p'od-pa, Lum-pa-nas and sByar-ra-nas, acting in concert with the chiefs of Anterior Tibet, on 18/VI have murdered K'an-c'en-nas. I have collected at once the troops of Ulterior Tibet, to defend my residence. Ṅa-p'od-pa and the others repeatedly have sent troops to raid it, but these have been killed and wounded by me without numbers. Now I will lead my soldiers to fight and capture Ṅa-p'od-pa and the others. I humbly beg the emperor to send quickly governmental troops to Tibet, to exterminate the rebel chiefs and to pacify Tibet.—Report received and submitted to the emperor.

Doc. III
ch. 62, ff. 21b-22b)

(*Chi-hai*/X = November 29th, 1727) Imperial edict to the Office for Administrative Deliberations.—Ṅa-p'od-pa has sent troops against mṄa'-ris, wishing to destroy P'o-lha-nas. But the soldiers sent by him have been completely wiped out by P'o-lha-nas. Already troops are being led to Lhasa (Chao 招),[1] in order to destroy

[1] On this name, derived from that of the Jo-bo, the holy image in the 'P'rul-snaṅ, see the remarks of L. S. Yang, in *HJAS* 14 (1951), pp. 657-660.

Ňa-p'od-pa. This undertaking, if it can be carried to an end, will be advantageous for Tibet. But at present there are in Tibet the imperial envoys Mala and Seṅ-ge. I fear that either they may be misled by Ňa-p'od-pa to act as mediators for arranging a settlement, or that they may be deceived by Ňa-p'od-pa etc., so that P'o-lha-nas may be damaged by this. This can have serious consequences. We order Yüeh Chung-ch'i to select from among the officials serving in Szechwan and Shensi some who are conversant with the peculiarities of the Tibetans, who know perfectly the Tibetan language, and are fit to be sent to Tibet. They must be ordered to start at once. All the circumstances are to be secretly told to Mala and Seṅ-ge, to enable them to have the matter clear in their minds. Then everything will be easy. Let the sub-chancellor Bandi be despatched, and let him orally transmit the details.

Doc. IV
(ch. 63, ff. 1a-3a)

(*Kuei-ch'ou*/XI = December 13th, 1727) Edict to the Office for Administrative Deliberations. At present P'o-lha-nas of Tibet, having led his troops to avenge K'aṅ-c'en-nas, is fighting against Ňa-p'od-pa. It is necessary to send an official (*ta-ch'ên*) on duty to command our troops and to conduct the administration. The edict notifying the Dalai-Lama [to this effect] has been already transcribed. Now, with regard to the official to be sent next year, it is necessary to prepare now the troops which he is to take along, so that they shall leave as soon as the young grass grows. About these troops which will be sent, We order the Office for Administrative Deliberations to deliberate and report.

Formerly, when troops were sent out, apart from the funds being provided for official rewards and prepared for the bestowing of favours, whenever there were small shortages, it was expected that these would be mostly advanced by them from their pay. This time in sending governmental troops this [practice of] borrowing shall be stopped, and We shall order them to be generously paid. We order the President of the Censorate Jalangga and the brigadier-general Mailu to go ahead, to organize the affairs of military supply inside Tibet. They will select 400 men from the Manchu troops of Hsian-fu to accompany them. As to the Green Banner soldiers of Szechwan, We order the commissioner of the Equipage Depart-

ment [1] with the rank of an assistant chamberlain [2] Chou Ying to take their command. As to the Green Banner soldiers of Shensi, We order the brigade-general of Hsining, Chou K'ai-chieh 周開捷, to take their command. As to the Green Banner soldiers of Yünnan, Jalang-ga and Mailu together with O-êrh-t'ai 鄂爾泰 [3] must consult and nominate a brigade-general and a colonel.[4] We order that one of them be kept stationed at Chamdo, and one should command the troops which enter Tibet. Chou Ying will be paid 4000 taels. Chou K'ai-chieh together with the brigade-general sent from Yünnan will be paid 3000 taels each. The colonels will be paid 1000 taels each. The lieutenant-colonels will be paid 500 taels each. For the salaries of the majors [5] and of the subaltern officers you will deliberate and present a proposal.

[The Office] examined the matter and advised: As these officials are going to Tibet to reduce it to order, they cannot but take troops with them. Therefore, for the 400 men of the Manchu troops of Hsian-fu, whom they will take with them, we must appoint a colonel,[6] two majors,[7] two captains,[8] four lieutenants,[9] to command them for the march to Tibet. Furthermore, we shall send 8000 men of the Green Banners of Shensi, 4000 of the Green Banners of Szechwan, 3000 of the Green Banners of Yünnan. For every 2000 soldiers, a colonel will be appointed; for every 1000, a lieutenant-colonel or a major will be placed in charge. As to the second-captains, lieutenants, sergeants and other officers, we shall order the governor-general, the provincial commander etc. concerned to send them out as it is fit and proper. As for their pay, each of them will be generously paid in accordance with the edict. The majors will receive 400 taels; the second-captains 300; the lieutenants 200; the sergeants 160; the troopers 20; the infantrymen 16 taels. Everything should be made ready beforehand. They will wait until next year, and they will march out at the time when the green

---

[1] *Luan-i-shih* 鑾儀使. Mayers, n. 111.

[2] *San-chih-ta-ch'ên* 散秩大臣, Mayers, n. 94.

[3] B. 1680, d. 1745 Governor-general of Yünnan and Kueichou 1726-1732. His biography in Hummel, pp. 601-603.

[4] *Fu-chiang* 副將, Mayers, n. 442.

[5] *Yu-chi* 遊擊, Mayers, n. 444.

[6] *Hsieh-ling* 協領, Mayers, n. 428.

[7] *Tso-ling* 佐領, Mayers, n. 429.

[8] *Fang-yü* 防禦, Mayers n. 430.

[9] *Hsiao-ch'i-hsiao* 驍騎校, Mayers n. 431.

grass grows. We shall order the president of the Censorate Jalangga to start on his journey within the 1st month of the next year, from Peking through Hsi-an-fu to Hsining; together with Chou K'ai-chieh he will leave for Tibet. They must take with them four able secretaries [1] of the governor's office,[2] four *bičēči*, two quartermasters [3] of the Mongolian Superintendency; each of them to be paid with salary and rations. They are to arrange for the departure.—These proposals were agreed to.

Doc. V
(ch. 71, ff. 17a-18b)

(*Hsin-yu*/VII = August 17th, 1728) The governor-general of Szechwan and Shensi, Yüeh Chung-ch'i, reports to the throne: According to a report by the lieutenant-colonel Yen Ch'ing-ju 顏清如 residing in Tibet,[4] on 25/V P'o-lha-nas led the troops under his orders through the pass of 'P'an-yul (P'an-yü 潘玉) to the locality of Gar-pa (K'a-pa 喀巴). He sent forward about 1000 men to attack the barrier [5] of dGa'-mo (K'a-mu 喀木). There was a fight with the troops of Lum-pa-nas. That night all the soldiers in the outposts of Lhasa joined P'o-lha-nas. On the 26th day P'o-lha-nas, leading his troops, marched straight into Lhasa.

The ambans resident in Tibet, Mala and Seṅ-ge, at once went into the Potala, to protect the Dalai-Lama. P'o-lha-nas on the one side pacified Lhasa, on the other sent troops to surround the Potala. On the 27th day Mala and Seṅ-ge returned to Lhasa. On the 28th the lamas of all the monasteries arrested and handed over Ṅa-p'od-pa, Lum-pa-nas, sByar-ra-nas etc.; P'o-lha-nas placed them under custody. Then he went to visit Mala and Seṅ-ge to make his report [as follows]: Now at the head of the troops of mṄa'-ris and of those of Ulterior Tibet, more than 9000 men in all, I have advanced on Lhasa. As I have already arrested the rebels, I wish to return to Ulterior Tibet at once. As to the soldiers who defend and garrison the passes, I pray that you make a report to the emperor, mentioning [also the appropriateness of granting them tokens of his] favour, rewards etc.

[1] *Szŭ-kuan* 司官, Mayers, n. 166.

[2] *Pu-yüan ya-mên* 部院衙門.

[3] *Ling-ts'ui* 領催, Mayers, n. 546.

[4] Apparently a member of the staff of the Chinese mission of Seṅ-ge and Mala.

[5] *K'a-lun* 卡倫; Manchu *karun*.

I (Yüeh Chung-ch'i) have examined the statement of P'o-lha-nas. Before our army arrived, he had exerted himself to avenge [K'añ-c'en-nas] and had arrested the rebels. All this has been caused by the gracious majesty of the emperor spreading far out. But although the rebel chiefs have already been made prisoners, Ña-p'od-pa's son mGon-po (Kun-pu 袞布) is still in rGya-mda' (Chiang-ta 江達),[1] being posted there at the head of some troops. I have given orders to the commissioner of the Equipage Department Chou Ying to keep himself strictly on the defensive, to wait till our great army arrives in Lhasa, and then to attack in cooperation with it. As to the troops of P'o-lha-nas, who number about 9000 men, I beg that they may be rewarded, and this proclaimed in public, in the way of encouragement.

The following rescript was issued: The troops of P'o-lha-nas have made great efforts. We order Jalangga and the others to draw 30.000 taels from the taxes levied for providing the military supplies, to hand them out to P'o-lha-nas and to order him to reward the troops as may seem appropriate.

Doc. VI
(ch. 73, ff. 26a-27a)

(*Ting-ch'ou*/IX = November 1st, 1728) The president of the Board of Civil Office [2] sent to Tibet, Jalangga, and the others report: Complying with the edict, I took the command of the army. On the 6/V we left Hsining. On 1/VIII we reached Lhasa. At once we, together with the brigadier-general Mala and the sub-chancellor Señ-ge who were already in residence in Tibet, tried Ña-p'od-pa, Lum-pa-nas, sByar-ra-nas and the others. According to the confession of Ña-p'od-pa etc., it was true that they had plotted the murder of K'añ-c'en-nas. Considering that, although Ña-p'od-pa and the others had personally received many favours from our empire, they did not even think of attempting to repay them, but in their hearts they bred rebellion, they have greatly offended against the law. We had to differentiate the punishment according to the circumstances. Ña-p'od-pa and Lumpa-nas were both sentenced to death by slicing to pieces. Ña-p'od-pa's son dGa'-ldan-p'un-ts'og (K'a-êrh-tan-p'ên-ch'u-k'o), dKon-mc'og-lha-? (Kun-ch'u-k'o-la-ku-pu) and O(?)Darqan bsKal-bzañ-c'os-dar (O-ta-êrh-

[1] Giamda-dsong of the maps, the capital of Koñ-po, about 92° 37′ long., 30° lat.

[2] *Li-pu* 史部, Mayers n. 153.

han-k'a-êrh-tsang-ch'ui-ta-êrh), and Lum-pa-nas's son *gzims-dpon* C'os- ? (Hsi-mu-pen ch'ui-cha-t'ê) were all sentenced to decapitation. sByar-ra-nas was sentenced to decapitation; his wife with his sons Lhag-bsam (?:La-k'o-sang) and Byams-pa (Cha-mu-pa), together with the wives and daughters of the two culprits and with the elder and younger full brothers, were all sent into exile. Furthermore, there were the lamas and common people, who had collaborated with Ṅa-p'od-pa and the others; here too, we discriminated in punishing the crimes. The nature of the Tibetans is cruel; in the case of Ṅa-p'od-pa and the others, we had to order the Tibetans to be present at the execution, so as to show them an example. On the one hand we submit the above to the emperor. On the other, as to Ṅa-p'od-pa and those criminals in the case who had to be decapitated, we proceeded at once to the execution. With regard to those men who must be exiled, we shall consult together and charge some from among the soldiers, who are sent back, with delivering them to the marshall-residences of Chiang-ning, K'ang-chou and Ching-chou; [the deportees] will be given to the soldiers as slaves.—The above report was received and presented to the emperor.

Doc. VII
(ch. 76, f. 4a-b)

(*Ting-hai*/XII = January 20th, 1729) The Office for Administrative Deliberations, following an imperial edict, deliberated and submitted [the following]: The administrator of Tibetan affairs, President of the Board of Civil Office Jalangga, and the others report: The original residence of P'o-lha-nas is in Ulterior Tibet. He has lived together with the Tanguts (Tibetans) for a long time, and the populace has come to trust him. According to orders received, we were to appoint P'o-lha-nas as Chief Administrator for the affairs of Ulterior Tibet. From Ulterior Tibet to the Kailasa,[1] mṄa'-ris and other districts, all of them we were to entrust to his administration. As to the affairs of Anterior Tibet, we were to seek out two men usually trusted by the native Tibetans, and to appoint them as *bka'-blon*. Accepting the guarantee given by P'o-lha-nas, we have selected two men; the one is called Sri-gcod-ts'e-brtan (Sê-chu-t'ê-sê-pu-t'êng 色朱持色布騰), the other is called Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal (Ts'ê-ling-wang-cha-êrh 策凌旺扎爾). Both of

[1] Kang-ti-szŭ, Tibetan Gaṅs Ti-se.

them are sons of high officials; they are commonly respected by the people. We consider these men to be sincere and intelligent. We shall entrust them with the administration of Anterior Tibet and shall nominate them to *bka'-blon*. However, the country of Lhasa (Chao) has only just been pacified, and it is to be feared that the two *bka'-blon* just appointed will not be able to give satisfaction in their administration. P'o-lha-nas [on the other hand] is transacting the business of a *bka'-blon* in such a way that he makes the people feel contented. Now, Anterior Tibet and Ulterior Tibet are not very distant from each other, and their affairs can be managed together. We therefore shall provisionally appoint P'o-lha-nas to govern Anterior Tibet and Ulterior Tibet. We shall wait till the transfer of the Dalai-Lama has been completed and we have withdrawn our troops from the country of Lhasa (Chao), and then again we shall appoint P'o-lha-nas to deal particularly with Ulterior Tibet.

[The Office for Administrative Deliberations says that] all these requests should be granted.—It was agreed to.

B. Selected documents from the *Kao-tsung Shih-lu* concerning the upheaval of 1750

Doc. VIII
(ch. 376, ff. 29b-31b)

(*Kuei-ch'ou*/XI = December 12th, 1750) The governor-general of Szechwan, Cereng and the provincial commander Yüeh Chung-ch'i report: Earlier we had received a report from the assistant sub-prefect of the paymaster's office[1] of Tibet, Ch'ang-ming 常明, to the effect that 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal had proclaimed to his subjects that he had already contrived to have about 400 men of the Chinese troops sent back; the rest of them, if they did not find an opportunity for returning home quickly, certainly would be completely massacred; and other words to this effect.

Also the first-class assistant department magistrate[2] detailed to the supply office of Lha-ri, Tung-kung 董恭, reports that 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal has ordered that on the roads neither troops nor civilians, Chinese or native, and no written communication should be allowed to travel to and fro. And so on.

---

[1] *Liang-wu t'ung-p'an* 糧務通判, Mayers, n. 283.

[2] *Chou-t'ung* 州同, Mayers, n. 285.

Now according to the report of the non-commissioned officer residing in Tibet Wang T'ing-pin 王廷斌 and others, 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal had plotted to revolt. Fucing and Labdon, the two officials resident in Tibet, on 13/X= November 11th enticed him into the K'rom-gzigs-k'aṅ palace (T'ung-szŭ-k'ang ya-mên 通司岡衙門) for an interview. There they cut him down. As the rebel *mgron-gñer* Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis (Cho-ni Lo-pu-tsang-cha-shih 卓呢羅卜藏札什) and others got intelligence of this, he at the head of a crowd of several thousands surrounded the building, discharged guns and swivels at it, and set [the palace] on fire on all sides. The Dalai-Lama sent many monks to save [the inmates], but they could not effect an entrance. In the uproar, Labdon was wounded by a sword-cut, and Fucing was hit by a gunshot; immediately afterwards he committed suicide. Most of the civil and military officers there were killed. In the *ya-mên* of the paymaster's office, the treasury was looted with a loss of more than 85.000 taels. On the 14th, the *mgron-gñer* Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis at the head of his men fled away. On the 15th, the Dalai-Lama first commanded duke Paṇḍita, the brother-in-law of 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal, to discharge provisionally the duties of a king of Tibet. The lamas of the neighbourhood and all the Tibetans gave him their allegiance. The military and civil personnel who have escaped the catastrophe, are now cared for by the Dalai-Lama. And so on.

Then again, following the report of the major (*yu-chi*) commanding the frontier posts, Yin-jui 殷瑞, on the 18/X and on the following days the Dalai-Lama published an order to the effect that all the postal stations must transport the governmental troops as before. As soon as they heard the proclamation of the Dalai-Lama, no single Tibetan did any more harm to the Chinese. And so on.

Again, according to the report of the assistant sub-prefect Ch'ang-ming, on the 23/X and on the following days, more than half the rebels, according to the report of duke Paṇḍita, had been already arrested. The rest too will be caught without difficulty. The pay funds are now searched for, and already more than 20.000 taels have been recovered. Everywhere on the entrances to routes of strategical importance, soldiers have also been posted to guard them. And so on.

Again, we received two memorials by the Dalai-Lama and Duke Paṇḍita, forwarded by the officers of the frontier guards.

We (Cereng and Yüeh Chung-ch'i) have studied these events.

That 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal has been killed by surprise, corresponds to the truth. His rebellious followers too, according to the Dalai-Lama and duke Paṇḍita, are being sought out and arrested one after the other. *mGron-gñer* Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis dared lead the mob to attack the ambans; this is a heinous crime. It is therefore necessary forthwith to send troops to have him executed. Perhaps this terrible calamity is not yet at an end, and there may be disturbances also in future. We therefore advise: Yüeh Chung-ch'i must go in all haste to Ta-chien-lu. First, from among the provincial troops of the garrison of Chien-ch'ang 建昌 he shall mobilize 3000 men and send them outside the passes. As second echelon, he shall mobilize 2000 men and he shall order brigadier-general Tung-fang 董芳, commanding the garrison of Chien-ch'ang, to follow him. Cereng, in his turn, at the head of 3000 men shall go to Ta-chien-lu to keep order there. According to circumstances, he will decide whether to attack and destroy [the enemy] or to come to the assistance [of the others]. Now some able officers must be sent to issue proclamations along the route to the Tibetan population. Besides, the Dalai-Lama and duke Paṇḍita are being informed of the reasons why troops are being sent out to arrest the rebels, so that the minds of the Tibetan populace may be reassured.—Again, the brigadier-general Bandi is now travelling from Kukunor to Tibet with his suite of only about 20 men. The Dalai-Lama and the others perhaps do not yet know the reason why he comes to Tibet. We shall at the same time inform the Dalai-Lama, commanding him to send some men to meet and escort him on the road.

Doc. IX

(ch. 377, ff. 29b-30b)

(*Ting-mao*/XI = December 26th, 1750) The governor-general of Szechwan, Cereng, and the others report: On 20/X, according to the report of the assistant sub-prefect Ch'ang-ming [the situation was this]: After 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal's execution, duke Paṇḍita is provisionally regulating the affairs of Tibet. The fighting has ceased. When the lieutenant-general Fucing and the others were killed, there were about 80 soldiers left, and of the common people 110 or 120. All of them entered the Potala, and everybody received from the Dalai-Lama a sufficient allowance of money and food. On the 23rd, duke Paṇḍita reported that the rebel chief *mgron-gñer* Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis had been caught and imprisoned. More than

half of the rebels had been already arrested. The stolen pay funds too had been found for the greater part. The K'rom-gzigs-k'aṅ and the other places were already calm. On the 24th, Ch'ang-ming together with the soldiers and civilians were brought back to their lodgings. And so on.

Now the army which has been despatched, probably has been sent out uselessly. We pray that we should enter Lhasa with only 800 men. As in former times, we consider that troops should be posted in Ta-chien-lu to maintain order.

An edict was received to the effect that a rescript would be issued separately.

Doc. X

(ch. 379, ff. 22b-24a)

(*Wu-hsü*/XII = January 26th, 1751) The brigadier-general resident in Tibet, Bandi, reports: On 21/XII I have arrived in Lhasa. I have gathered together the officers and men still surviving, and have questioned them on the particulars of the rebellion. Thus I heard that on 13/X Fucing and Labdon invited 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal inside their palace. When he arrived upstairs and met them, Fucing drew his word and cut down 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal. At the same time the latter's attendants, four of five men in all, were killed. When *mgron-gñer* Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis heard of it, he jumped down from the upper storey and went to call his comrades. He gathered soldiers and surrounded the house; he fired at it with guns and swivels. Fucing sent somebody to summon Paṇḍita to his rescue. But Paṇḍita's power was small and he was unable to save him. He informed in all haste the Dalai-Lama, who thereupon sent messengers to stop [the mob]; but the rebels did not obey them. They set fire to the house and burnt it down. Fucing received three wounds on his body and at once committed suicide. Labdon was wounded several times and was killed by the rebels. The second-class assistant secretary [1] Ts'ê-t'a-êrh and the lieutenant-colonel Huang Yüan-lung too committed suicide. The *bičēči* Ch'i-ch'êng 齊誠 cut his own throat, but did not die. The assistant sub-prefect Ch'ang-ming too was wounded by arrows and stones. Two lieutenants,[2] 49 soldiers and 77 servants and traders died fighting. All the funds

[1] *Chu-shih* 主事, Mayers, n. 166.

[2] *Ch'ien-tsung* 千總, Mayers n. 147.

that were kept in the paymaster's office were looted. *mGron-gñer* Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis and the rest utilized the pause [after the massacre] for escaping. On the following day the Dalai-Lama gathered all the remaining soldiers and pacified the mob. Duke Paṇḍita arrested the criminal *mgron-gñer* Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis and others, 13, in all and kept them securely imprisoned. I have further severely questioned them under torture. They implicated as accomplices Tê-shih-nai 德什奈 and others, 14 altogether. All these rebels had gathered together for sedition, had killed the ambans, had looted the monies. Their violence and insolence has been extreme. It was necessary to restore the laws of the empire at once. Thereupon on the 25th, *mgron-gñer* Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis who had been the leader, Rab-brtan (A-la-pu-tan 阿喇卜坦) and Ch'ui-mu-cha-t'ê 吹木札持 who had led the mob to kindle the fire and to loot the monies, Sečen Hašiha (Ch'ê-ch'ên-ha-shih-ha 車臣哈什哈) who had killed many persons, Darqan Yaśor (Ta-êrh-han Ya-hsün 達爾汗雅遜), Padma-sku-rje-c'os-'p'el (Pa-t'ê-ma-ku-êrh-chi-ch'un-p'i-lo 巴持馬古爾濟椿丕勒) and dBaṅ-rgyal (Wang-chieh 妄介) who had fired with fowling pieces and bows and arrows to wound the ambans, all of them died by the slicing process. *P'yag-mdsod-pa* Lha-skyabs (Shang-cho-t'ê-pa La-cha-pu 尚卓持巴拉札卜), who in obedience to the rebel leader had killed some men, had carried straw and kindled the fire and as the first had mounted upstairs to help the criminals, *rdsoṅ-dpon* dBaṅ-rgyal (Ts'êng-pên Wang-cha-lo 曾本旺扎勒), Man-chin Tê-shih-nai 曼金得什鼐 and others were all beheaded. The messenger bKra-śis-rab-brtan (Cha-shih-la-pu-tan 札什喇卜坦) and others, who had followed the rebels, were strangled. As to Pei-lung-sha-k'o-pa 杯隴沙克巴, who fearing punishment had committed suicide, and to La-k'o-kun-pu 拉克滾布, who perished in prison, they were both decapitated; together with the other criminals whose bodies had been torn apart, their bones were crushed. As customary, all the severed heads were exposed to the view of the populace. The remaining rebels were banished to different places. Their property was sold and the proceeds paid into the treasury.

Doc. XI
(ch. 385, ff. 15b-19b)

(*I-ch'ou*/III = April 23rd, 1751) The governor-general of Szechwan, Cereng and his colleagues report: We have considered and decided the measures for the reorganization of Tibet.

Firstly: The *bka'-blon* who govern Tibet are customarily four. *bKa'-blon* 'Broṅ-btsan had become blind and had been relieved of his post by 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal. Now the following three are left: Paṇḍita, Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal and Sri-gcod-ts'e-brtan. Paṇḍita has received a special rescript as duke exercising the functions of *bka'-blon*. As to Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal and Sri-gcod-ts'e-brtan, it has been ascertained that they showed no rebellious behaviour; besides, they have a rescript which appointed them as *bka'-blon* and at the same time gave them the rank of a first-class Jasak Taiji. It is expedient to keep them as before in the office of *bka'-blon*. In the place of 'Broṅ-btsan, a lama deeply learned in the doctrines of the Yellow Church shall be selected and appointed. He will be granted the title of Jasak Ta Bla-ma.

Again: The joint management of affairs by the *bka'-blon* was formerly transacted in the official building of the *bka'-śag* (*ka-sha* 噶沙). Since the time of P'o-lha-nas, every *bka'-blon* has carried out his official work in his private home. They discontinued, as not necessary, the officially appointed executives, and increasingly employed their favourites for the purpose. Henceforward they must as before betake themselves to the official buildings for transacting business jointly. Privately appointed officials must be eliminated.

Again: the officials, such as the *sde-pa* (*tieh-pa* 喋巴), of every district are responsible for the administration of their zone and for the instruction of the people. 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal had appointed his favourites to all these posts. These men did not go there personally, and sent their household slaves to act for them. This caused trouble in the districts. Henceforward the *bka'-blon* shall conjointly report to the Dalai-Lama as well as to the ambans resident in Tibet about the filling of any vacancies. [Officials], whose household slaves officiate for them, shall be removed. Officials unsuited for their regions shall be replaced. In every temple the *mk'an-po bla-ma* (abbot) shall be appointed as heretofore by the Dalai-Lama.

Again: the *mgron-gñer* (*cho-ni-êrh* 卓呢爾), *p'yag-mdsod-pa* (*shang-cho-t'ê-pa* 商卓特巴), *rdsoṅ-dpon* (*ts'êng-pên* 曾本), *gsol-dpon* (*sui-pên* 隨本), all these titles of officials, the Dalai-Lama alone had formerly [the power of bestowing them]. After P'o-lha-nas had been appointed *wang*, he too accordingly made additional appointments. These must be examined and cancelled. Only the two *mgron-gñer* appointed to the council house, and the *druṅ-yig bičik* (*chung-i*

pi-ch'i-ko 仲意筆七格) who have received their original appointment along with them, shall transact official business.

Again: Formerly the *bka'-blon* took care of the government of the districts only. Soldiers, horses and frontier guards, all this was the responsibility of the *mda'-dpon* (*tai-pên* 代奔). Ulterior Tibet is small, and yet three *mda'-dpon* have been appointed there. Although dBus is large, there is only one *mda'-dpon* there. In case of mistakes, there would be nobody to keep in order that regions and to protect the Dalai-Lama. An additional officer must be appointed, together with the existing *mda'-dpon*; at the time of filling the vacancies, all of them will be given an imperial commission.

Again: all the people of Tibet were once subjects of the Dalai-Lama. Compulsory labour was regulated for each person according to the size of the district and to the number of the population. P'o-lha-nas and the others arbitrarily appropriated it, trading it underhand or giving excessive rewards, so that they even dared to issue documents granting exemptions from corvée duties, while the man whom they hated was ordered for service more often than his due. Henceforward the *bka'-blon*, *mda'-dpon* etc. shall officially examine the old documents. With the exception of rewards for encouraging merits, which need not be refunded, all those who have been privately rewarded or granted excessive exemption should be examined and reported by the *bka'-blon* to the Dalai-Lama for restitution [of the sums unduly received]. [The turns of] those ordered for service more often than their due shall be diminished.

Again: the duty of messenger of the Dalai-Lama formerly had to be filled by the common people of the districts. Since P'o-lha-nas etc. took office, every *bka'-blon*, *mda'-dpon* etc. sends men to Hsining, Ta-chien-lu, Sê-êrh-k'o-ma 色爾喀馬, mÑa'-ris sKor-gsum and other regions for trading; they also privately issue official orders, so that *'u-lag* service is oppressive for the common people. Henceforward this must be stopped. When official business is at hand, it shall be reported to the Dalai-Lama and he will issue a stamped document which shall be obeyed.

Again: the Dalai-Lama's granaries and treasury. Formerly there were the *'bru-pa* (*chu-pa* 諸巴) of the granaries in exclusive charge of them. When there were needs for the public business, the *bka'-blon* begged the Dalai-Lama to act for them, because in order to

open or close [the granaries], everybody considered a sealmark of the Dalai-Lama as the [necessary] credential. P'o-lha-nas etc. first began taking [grain] arbitrarily. Henceforward they must proceed as in former times.

Again: the Qara-usu is the region bordering with Kukunor, and mÑa'-ris is the region bordering with the Dsungars. It is necessary to invite the Dalai-Lama to send officials in residence there, and to address at the same time a communication to the Board requesting the issue of nominative papers.

Again: the 'Dam Mongols. In the past P'o-lha-nas petitioned that the said *wang* be empowered to commission them. After the execution of 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal, they stealthily returned to 'Dam. We find that the above-mentioned Mongols are all of them innocent people. Since they wished to return to 'Dam and to wait there till they were given commissions again, of course they must be satisfactorily organized. They have now eight chiefs, whose title are either *ǰaisang* or *taiǰi*. They all have been abusively appointed by P'o-lha-nas etc. It is necessary to change them into Banner commanders [1]. Their subordinates will be chosen and appointed as [Mongol] lieutenant-colonels [2] or subalterns.[3] All the eight chiefs will be granted rank buttons. They shall be under the general command of the amban resident in Tibet. As before, each lieutenant-colonel must be ordered to supply 10 men, who will stay in Lhasa ready for employment. As to the several scores of Mongol families who reside in Lhasa to gain their livelihood, we shall examine them and keep their names on record; these we shall allow to remain in Lhasa.

The following rescript was issued: [Order] to write in accordance which what has been decided. Send it down to the Board, so that it may take note of it. Order to the Grand Council: Concerning what Cereng submits in order to provide for Tibetan affairs, We have decided to endorse his proposals and approve them. Now, in the relations with Tibet, which are of the utmost importance, emphasis should be laid on the frontier posts; this is where the pivot of traffic lies. We must consider the fact that in the past 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal did not allow the postal stations to forward the official

[1] *Gusai da* (*ku-shan-ta* 固山達); in the 18th century corresponding in rank to the *hsieh-ling*, Manchu colonel. Nieh Ch'ung-ch'i, p. 112.

[2] *Tso-ling* 佐領, Mayers n. 544.

[3] *Hsiao-ch'i-hsiao* 驍騎校, Mayers n. 545.

despatches, and the courier traffic was interrupted; then Paṇḍita sent orders to forward the mail, and only then the communications were resumed. All this resulted from the fact that [the service] is placed under their administration, and the ambans residing in Tibet cannot regulate its functioning and its omissions and commissions. How to obtain its control? It is absolutely necessary to give full attention to the handling of this problem. Even previously We repeatedly issued rescripts about this. Why in this memorial of Cereng etc. they wrongly treat this matter as if not yet deliberated upon, when at present we have reached a decision a short while ago? As whatever slackness happens in this matter results in its turn in the suspicions of all men in Tibet, it is but fitting to order Bandi and Namjal to pay attention to it. After a couple of years they may undertake to apply again for an edict.

Among the present proposals there is also the appointment of officials like the *sde-pa* etc., to be responsible for governing the district and instructing the people; concerning their appointment for the future, this right should belong exclusively to the Dalai-Lama and the ambans resident in Tibet; and so on. [Now we ask]: What are the affairs, what are the districts that this sort of *sde-pa* and headmen govern? The postal stations of a single zone, such as Batang and Li-t'ang, are they or are they not under the management of these headmen? If they are under the management of these headmen, then the Dalai-Lama and the ambans resident in Tibet have already the authority necessary for not allowing to happen again, that the mail service be interrupted; then it is no longer necessary to make arrangements in the matter which the present rescript enquires about.

Again: When Chao-hui was specially sent out from the capital, it was in order to take all suitable measures with regard to Tibet; of course the only proper thing for him to do, would have been to wait till all the affairs had been reported, approved and a rescript concerning them had been received, before he should have reported that in the near future he would return to the capital. However, after having just made his proposals, without awaiting the imperial rescript, on the one hand he presents his memorial, and on the other he reports that he is starting on his journey [back], having, moreover, the intention to hurry. Should he adduce [as reason] the conditions of that country, then [We would observe

that] We have known these perfectly for a long time, and that we have no need of a personal report by Chao-hui in order to learn them. What kind of matters are there in the capital of such an urgent character that he cannot wait like this? In former times, to be as rapid as the stars [on an Imperial mission] meant earnestness and zeal for the public welfare; but if in coming and returning he acts precipitately, it means that he has only his private concerns in view.—Let this rescript be transmitted to reprimand him.

Doc. XII
(ch. 386, ff. 17b-19a)

(*Wu-yin*/IV = May 6th, 1751) The governor-general of Szechwan, Cereng reports: We have received the rescript ordering that several men should be appointed as *bka'-blon* in Tibet, so as to divide their power. At once we instituted a secret and deeper inquiry in this country. We understand that according to the old rule the *bka'-blon* were normally four. One was duke Paṇḍita. The others were Jasak Taiji Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal, Sri-gcod-ts'e-brtan and 'Broṅ-btsan. These three are issued from the noblest families in Tibet, and for a long time they have been men obeyed by the Tibetans. Among them, 'Bron-btsan is blind in both eyes. It is difficult to choose him a second time for appointment. Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal and Sri-gcod-ts'e-brtan are both aged, experienced and wise; they are fit for this post. We therefore think it expedient to pray that they may be appointed to the post of *bka'-blon* as before. As to the place which is left free by 'Broṅ-btsan, since according to the Dalai-Lama the Tibetan laity cannot be deeply learned in the tenets of the Yellow Church, he recommends Bla-ma Ñi-ma-rgyal-mts'an (La-ma-Ni-ma-chia-mu-ts'an 喇嘛尼瑪嘉木燦), who is wise and trustworthy. We therefore suggest to grant him the rank of Jasak Bla-ma and to appoint him *bka'-blon*, to hold office concurrently with the others.

The report was approved. Edict to the *bka'-blon* duke Paṇḍita, Jasak Taji Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal and Sri-gcod-ts'e-brtan, and to Jasak Blama Ñi-ma-rgyal-mts'an, as follows. In Tibet the Yellow Church is widely flourishing; it is a most pure good land. The Dalai-Lama is presiding over the Buddhist Church of the western countries. He amply explains the sūtras and the dharma. Formerly he fed and maintained the lamas, while for all the affairs of state there were originally the four *bka'-blon*. Then 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal arbi-

trarily concentrated in himself all authority. He did not consult the *bka'-blon*, but ungratefully followed his own will. He secretly entertained rebellious plans. Therefore, the ambans resident in Tibet had him executed. Now inside Tibet everything is already peaceful again. The business of *bka'-blon* cannot be managed by one man alone. We therefore specially entrusted the governor-general Cereng with the task of choosing good and competent men. According to the ancient rule, We have separately appointed four *bka'-blon*, to hold office jointly. You must be grateful for Our favours. You shall obey and honour the Dalai-Lama, shall exert yourself in a friendly manner, shall do your best in your office, shall not think of your private interests so as to arouse distrust or suspicions. You shall not be distrustful of each other, but shall esteem one another. Whatever important question arises, inform the Dalai-Lama and the ambans resident in Tibet, follow their directions and act accordingly. Grateful for this favour, exert yourselves in supporting Our wish to propagate the Yellow Church and to pacify mankind.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTS FOR THE PERIOD 1706-1751

I. *Tibetan*

A. The Dalai-Lama

6—Ts'aṅs-dbyaṅs-rgya-mts'o	1683-1706
(Ye-śes-rgya-mts'o	1707-1717)
7—Blo-bzaṅ-bskal-bzaṅ-rgya-mts'o	[1708] 1720-1757

B. The Paṇ-c'en

2—Blo-bzaṅ-ye-śes	1663-1737
3—Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-ldan-ye-śes	1738-1780

C. The K'ri Rin-po-c'e of dGa'-ldan [1]

46—bSam-blo-sbyin-pa-rgya-mts'o	1692-1695
45—Ts'ul-k'rims-dar-rgyas (provisionally for a second term)	1695-1699
47—Blo-bzaṅ-c'os-'p'el	1699-1701
48—Don-grub-rgya-mts'o	1702-1708
49—Blo-bzaṅ-dar-rgyas	1708-1715
50—dGe-'dun-p'un-ts'ogs	1715-1722
51—dPal-ldan-grags-pa	1722-1730
52—Ṅag-dbaṅ-c'os-'p'el	1730-1732
53—rGyal-mts'an-seṅ-ge	1732-1739
54—Ṅag-dbaṅ-mc'og-ldan	1739-1746
55—Ṅag-dbaṅ-nam-mk'a'-bzaṅ	1746-1750
56—Blo-bzaṅ-dri-med	1750-1757
57—bSam-gtan-p'un-ts'ogs	1757-1764

D. The Qōšot Khans in Tibet [2]

Guśri Khan	1642-1655 [3]

[1] I begin this series with the 46th K'ri Rin-po-c'e in order to form a continuation of the series given by Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, List *D* in the Genealogical Tables after p. 706. Names and dates of my list are drawn from the *Collection of Biographies of the K'ri Rin-po'e*.

[2] Based on L. Petech, *Notes on Tibetan history etc.*, pp. 266-270.

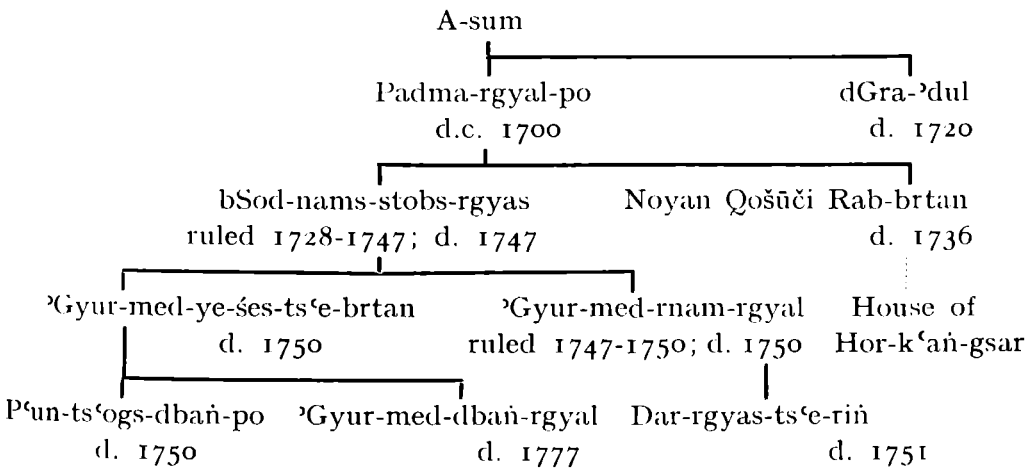
[3] Died on 7/XII(Hor)/Wood-Horse = January 14th, 1655.

Gušri-Khan's ten sons [1]	1655-1658
Dayan Khan	1658-1668
bsTan-'dsin Dalai Khan	1668-1701
bsTan-'dsin Vangjal	1701-1703
Lajang Khan	1703-1717

E. The Tibetan government

sde-srid Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o	1679-1703
sde-srid Ṅag-dbaṅ-rin-c'en	1703-1706
direct government of the Qōšot Khan	1706-1717
sa-skyoṅ sTag-rtse-pa Lha-rgyal-rab-brtan	1717-1720
Chinese military provisional government	1720-1721
Council of *bka'-blon*; chairman: K'aṅ-c'en-nas bSod-nams-rgyal-po [2]	1721-1727
Triumvirate [3]	1727-1728
P'o-lha-nas bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas, administrator, since 1740 "king"	1728-1747
'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal, "king"	1747-1750
dGa'-bži Pandita, acting administrator	1750-1751
Dalai-Lama with council of four *bka'-blon*	1751-1951

F. Genealogy of the P'o-lha family



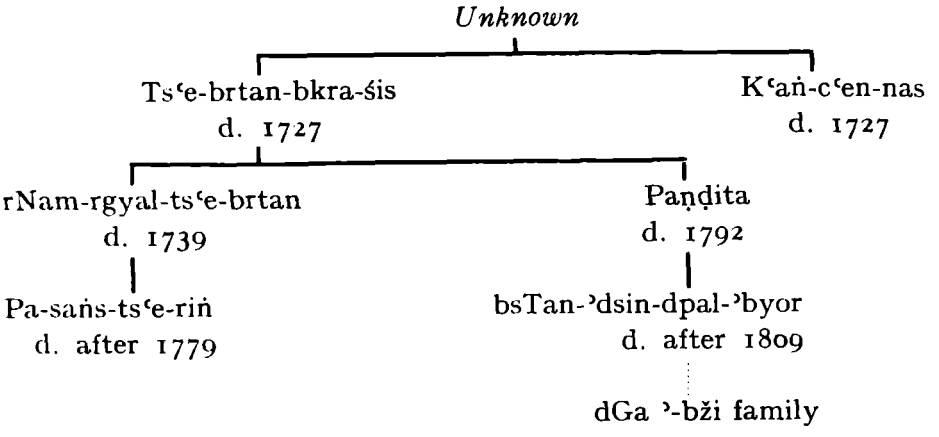
dukes of mŃa'-ris

[1] In or before 1658 they divided Gušri Khan's dominion; Tibet went to the eldest.

[2] Members: K'aṅ-c'en-nas, Ṅa-p'od-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-po, Lum-pa-nas bKra-śis-rgyal-po. After 1723, also P'o-lha-nas bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas and sByar-ra-ba Blo-gros-rgyal-po.

[3] Members: Ṅa-p'od-pa, Lum-pa-nas, sByar-ra-ba.

G. Genealogy of the dGa'-bži family



II. *Chinese*

A. Emperors

Shêng-tsu (K'ang-hsi)	1661-1722
Shih-tsung (Yung-chêng)	1722-1735
Kao-tsung (Ch'ien-lung)	1735-1796

B. Chinese representatives in Lhasa [1]

Ho-shou, envoy	1709-1711
Yansin, commander of the army	1720-1721
Cewang Norbu, commander of the garrison	1721-1723
Orai, amban	1723-1724
vacant	1724-1726
Oci and Bandi, ambans	1726
vacant	1726-1727
Seṅ-ge and Mala, envoys	1727-1728
Jalangga, commander of the expeditionary forces	1728

Ambans

Seṅ-ge and Mailu	1728-1733
Cingboo and Miyoośeo	1733-1734
A-êrh-hsün and Nasutai	1734
Nasutai alone	1734-1737
Hanggilu	1737-1739
Chi-shan	1739-1742 (?)
So-pai	1742-1745

[1] The dates are not those of appointment or dismissal, but those of actual taking or leaving office in Lhasa.

Fucing	1745-1747
Fucing and So-pai	1747-1748
So-pai alone	1748
Labdon	1748-1749
Chi-shan	1749-1850
Chi-shan and Fucing	1750
Fucing and Labdon	1750
vacant	1750-1751
Bandi	1751
Chinese commission presided by Cereng [1]	1751
Bandi and Namjal	1751-1752

III. *Dsungar rulers* [2]

Bātur (Qutuγaitu)	162.-1653
Sengge	1653-1671
Sečen Khan	1671-1676
Galdan	1676-1697
Cewang Arabtan	1697-1727
Galdan Cering	1727-1745
Cewang Dorji Namjal	1745-1750
Lama Darja	1750-1753
Davači	1753-1755
Chinese occupation	1755
Amursana	1755-1757

[1] Members: Cereng, Chao-hui, Bandi, Namjal.

[2] According to Courant.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. CHINESE TEXTS

Ch'ing-shih-kao (see p. 6).
Fan-pu yao-lüeh (see p. 6).
Hsi-tsang-chih (see p. 7).
Hsi-yü t'ung-wên-chih (see p. 7).
Man-chou ming-ch'ên chuan (Biographies of famous Manchu officials); privately printed from archives.
Shêng-wu-chi (see p. 7).
Ta-ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu (see pp. 5-6).
Wei-tsang t'ung-chih (see p. 6).

II. TIBETAN TEXTS

Annals of Kokonor (*K. Ann.*; see p. 4)
Autobiography of the second Paṇ-c'en (*A2PC* and *A2PCcont.*; see pp. 2-3).
Autobiography of the Third Paṇ-c'en (*A3PC*; see p. 3).
Dad pa'i 'dab brgya (see p. 5).
History of the chiefs of sTag-luṅ (*sTag-luṅ*; see p. 4).
Index (dkar-c'ag) *to the bKa'-'gyur of sNar-t'aṅ.*
Kloṅ-rdol Bla-ma, *Chronological tracts* (see p. 5).
Life of the Seventh Dalai-Lama (*L7DL*; see p. 2).
Loṅ ba'i dmigs bu (see p. 5).
Mi-dbaṅ-rtogs-brjod (*MBTJ*; see pp. 3-4).
Sum-pa mK'an-po, *dPag bsam ljon bzaṅ*, 2nd part, ed. by S. Ch. Das, Calcutta 1908.
Sum-pa mK'an-po, *dPag bsam ljon bzaṅ*, 3rd part, ed. by Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi 1959 (contains also *Re'u-mig*).

III. WORKS AND TRANSLATIONS IN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES AND MODERN CHINESE

Bell, Ch, *The religion of Tibet*, Oxford 1931.
Brunnert, H. S., and Hagelstrom, V. V., *Present day political organization of China*, Shanghai 1912.
Cassinelli, C. W., and Ekvall, R. B., *A Tibetan principality: the political system of Sa sKya*, Ithaca 1969.
Ch'ên, K. S., The Tibetan Tripitaka, in *HJAS* 9 (1946), pp. 53-62.
Courant, M., *L'Asie Centrale au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles; empire kalmouk ou empire mantchou?* (*Annales de l'Université de Lyon*, Nouv. Série, II, fasc. 26), Lyon 1912.
Das, S. Ch., The life of Sumpa-mkhanpo, in *JASB* 1889, pp. 37-84 (contains an unreliable translation of the *Re'u-mig*; not utilized here).
——, Tibetan jails and criminal punishments, in *PASB* 1894, pp. 5-8.
——, *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, London 1904.

De Filippi, F., *An account of Tibet: the travels of Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia, S. J., 1712-1727*, revised ed., London 1937.

Diskalkar, D. B., Bogle's embassy to Tibet, in *IHQ* 9 (1933), pp. 420-438.

Du Halde, J. B., *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* (4 vols.), Paris 1735.

Fairbank, J. K., and Têng, S. Y., on the transmission of Ch'ing documents, in *HJAS* 4 (1939), pp. 12-46 (reprinted in *Ch'ing administration, three studies*, Cambridge Mass., 1960, pp. 1-35).

Ferrari, A., *mK'yen-brtse's guiae to the holy places of Central Tibet*, Rome 1958.

Filchner, W., *Om mani padme hum*, Leipzig 1929.

Fuchs, W., *Der Jesuiten Atlas der K'anghsi-Zeit* (*Monumenta Serica* Monograph IV), Peking 1943.

Giorgi, A., *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, Rome 1762.

Grousset, R., *L'empire des steppes*, Paris 1941.

Gubernatis, A. de, *Gli scritti del P. Marco della Tomba*, Firenze 1878.

Haenisch, E., Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas unter der gegenwärtigen Dynastie: I, Die Eroberung von Tibet, in *T'oung Pao* 12 (1911), pp. 197-235, 375-424.

——, Eine chinesische Beschreibung von Tibet (vermutlich von Klaproth nach Amiot's Übersetzung bearbeitet), in S. Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, IX, part IV, pp. 1-60.

——, Die Eroberung des Goldstromlandes in Ost-Tibet, in *Asia Major* 10 (1935), pp. 262-313.

Hedin, S., *Southern Tibet* (9 vols.), Stockholm 1917-1922.

Heissig, W., Ein mongolisches Textfragment über den Ölötenfürsten Galdan, in *Sinologische Arbeiten* 2 (1944), pp. 92-160.

——, Ergänzungen zu einem mongolischen Textfragment über Galdan, in *Sinologische Arbeiten* 3 (1945), pp. 169-176.

——, Review of L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, in *ZDMG* 1951, pp. 438-441.

——, Ein mongolischer zeitgenössischer Bericht über den Ölöteneinfall in Tibet und die Plünderung von Lhasa 1717, in *ZDMG* 1954, pp. 391-411.

Hummel, A. W., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period* (2 vols.), Washington 1943-1944.

Huth, G., *Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, Strassburg 1896.

Ivanovskij, A. A., De la conquête du Tibet par les Chinois, in *Muséon* 3 (1884), pp. 165-181.

Jametel, M., *L'épigraphie chinoise au Tibet*, Paris 1880.

——, Histoire de la pacification du Tibet, in *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, I (1882), pp. 572-595.

——, Inscription commémorative du meurtre de deux ambassadeurs chinois au Tibet, in *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, I (1887), pp. 446-452.

Kraft, E., *Zum Dsungarenkrieg im 18. Jahrhundert: Berichte des Generals Funingga* (*Das mongolische Weltreich*, IV), Leipzig 1953.

Laufer, B., Loan words in Tibetan, in *T'oung Pao* 17 (1916), pp. 403-552.

Lettres édifiantes et curieuses (4 vols.), Paris 1839-1843.

Li, T. T., *Tibet today and yesterday*, New York 1960.

Lokesh Chandra, The life and works of Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa, in *CAJ* 7 (1962), pp. 264-269.
——, *Materials for a history of Tibetan literature* (3 vols.), New Delhi 1963-1964.
Markham, C. R., *Narratives of the mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa*, London 1879.
Mayers, W. F., *The Chinese government* [3], Shanghai 1897.
Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences . . . . . des Chinois (16 vols.), Paris 1776-1795.
Nebesky-Wojkowitz, R. de, *Oracles and demons of Tibet*, The Hague 1956.
Nieh, C. C., *Man-kuan han-shih* (Manchu official titles with Chinese explanations), in *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, n. 32 (June 1947), pp. 97-116.
Pal'mov, K. K., *Etjudy po istorii privolžikh Kalmykov*, Astrakhan 1926.
Parker, E. H., The campaigns of K'ang-hi, Yung-chêng and K'ien-lung, in *China Review*, 16 (1887/8), pp. 105-118.
Pelliot, P., *Notes critiques d'histoire kalmouke*, Paris 1960.
Petech, L., The Tibetan-Ladakhi-Monghul war of 1681-1683, in *IHQ* 23 (1947), pp. 169-199.
——, *I missionari italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal* (7 vols.), Rome 1952-1956.
——, Notes on Tibetan history of the 18th century, in *T'oung Pao* 52 (1965-1966), pp. 261-292.
Rahul, R., *The government and politics of Tibet*, Delhi 1969.
Rock, J. F., *The ancient Nakhi kingdom of southwest China* (2 vols.), Cambridge Mass., 1948.
Rockhill, W. W., Tibet, a geographical, ethnological and historical sketch derived from Chinese sources, in *JRAS* 1891, pp. 1-133, 185-192.
——, The Dalai-Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of China, in *T'oung Pao* 11 (1910), pp. 1-104.
Sagaster, K., *Subud Erike, „Ein Rosenkranz aus Perlen"*, Wiesbaden 1967.
Schäfer, E., *Geheimnis Tibet*, Munich 1943.
Schram, L. M. J., *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier* (3 parts), Philadelphia 1954-1961.
Schulemann, G., *Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas* [2], Leipzig 1958.
Shakabpa, Tsepon W. D., *Tibet: a political history*, New Haven 1967.
Tucci, G., *Indo-Tibetica* (4 parts in 7 vols.), Rome 1932-1941.
——, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (2 vols.), Rome 1940.
——, Tibetan notes, in *HJAS* 12 (1949), pp. 477-496.
——, *To Lhasa and beyond*, Rome 1956.
——, *Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal*, Rome 1956.
—— and Ghersi, E., *Cronaca della missione scientifica Tucci nel Tibet occidentale (1933)*, Rome 1934.
Veselovskij, N. I., Posol'stvo k Zjungarskomu khun-taidži Cevan rabtanu kapitana ot artillerii Ivana Unkovskago, in *Zapiski Imp. Russ. Geografičeskago Obščestva, po otdeleniju etnografii*, X, part II (1887).
Vostrikov, A. I., *Tibetskaja istoričeskaja literatura*, Moscow 1962.
Waddell, L. A., Notes on the Ma-gu-ta or Charung Kashar stupa, in *PASB* 1892, pp. 186-189.

——, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, London 1895.
——, *Lhasa and its mysteries*, London 1904.
Walsh, E. H. C., The image of Buddha in the Jo-wo-Khang temple at Lhasa, in *JRAS*, 1938, pp. 535-540.
Wylie, T. V., *The geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad*, Rome 1962.
Zahiruddin Ahmad, New light on the Tibet-Ladakh-Mughal war of 1679-1684, in *East and West* 18 (1968), pp. 340-361.
——, *Sino-Tibetan relations in the seventeenth century*, Rome 1970.

INDEX

I. TIBETAN

Ka-spe *bla-ma* Ṅag-dbaṅ-'brug-pa 178
Ka-spe *bla-ma* Don-grub 162-164
Kam-pa pass 64, 137
Karma-bstan-skyoṅ 43
Karma-pa 99, 163
Kun-dga'-bstan-'dzin 189
Kun-dga'-nor 17
Kun-dga'-ra-ba 161
(*žal-ṅo*) Kun-bzaṅ 123, 124
(*dkon-gñer-c'en-po rab-'byams*) Kun bzaṅ 182
Koṅ-po 39, 40, 42, 72, 78, 80, 116, 119, 120, 121, 123, 129, 132, 136, 138, 142, 214, 269
Kom-kre 122
Klu-sbugs 47, 48
Kloṅ-rdol *bla-ma* Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ 5
dka'-bcu 69
dka'-c'en 64, 123
dkar-c'ag 27, 161
dkon-gñer c'en-po 182
bKa'-'gyur 27, 28, 131, 161, 197
bKa'-'gyur Ta Bla-ma Blo-bzaṅ-ts'ul-k'rims 72
bKa'-brgyud-pa 197
bka'-druṅ 244
bKa'-'drin-rin-c'en 186, 187
bka'-blon 45, 52, 55, 79, 81, 94, 142, 155, 159, 167, 172, 180, 185, 220, 222-226, 229-232, 239, 242, 243, 256, 264, 265, 270, 271, 276, 277, 280, 281
bka'-śag 172, 244, 276
bla'-śag mgron-gñer 244
bka'-śag druṅ-yig 244
bka'-śog 12
bka'i-dguṅ-blon 75, 79, 94
bka'i-mdun-na-'don 57, 79, 89
(*dka'-c'en*) bKra-śis 123
bKra-śis-sgaṅ 131, 132
bKra-śis-c'os-rdzoṅ 162
bKra-śis-dpal-ra-ba 115, 132
bKra-śis-rtse-pa 43, 45, 47, 55, 57, 60, 75
bKra-śis-rab-brtan 275
bKra-śis-lhun-po 12, 15, 18, 23, 30, 35, 49, 52, 57-60, 63, 69, 72, 77, 82, 91, 100, 107, 116, 118, 123, 124, 128, 158-160, 166, 176, 177, 179, 181, 182, 185-187, 194, 198, 199, 201, 204, 205, 210, 213, 256, 257
sKar-ma-t'aṅ 72
sku-gñer c'en-po 160
sku-mdun sṅags-rams-pa, see bSam-gtan-rgyal-mts'an
sKu-'bum 17, 24, 32, 35, 43, 44, 51, 53, 68-71
sKu-'bum-t'aṅ 45
skor-lcag-pa 245
sKya-k'aṅ-pa 115, 122
sKyid-groṅ 27, 64, 119, 122, 154
sKyid-c'u 11, 43, 44, 52, 56, 74, 75, 136, 138, 185
sKyid-pa-t'aṅ-pa 115, 122, 123
sKyid-sbug 27
sKyid-sbug-pa 28, 57
sKyid-sbug bSod-nams-dbaṅ-'dus 117
sKyid-śod 49, 52, 145
sKye-ts'al Klu-sdiṅs 44
sKyor-mo-luṅ 12, 150
brkyaṅ-śiṅ 246

K'a-ro-la 123
K'aṅ-c'en-nas bSod-nams-rgyal-po 36, 51, 61-65, 75, 77-79, 83, 87-89, 91-94, 96, 98-104, 106-114, 116-121, 124, 125,

136, 141, 142, 146, 147, 149, 151, 238, 254, 255, 264-266, 269, 283, 284
K'ams 11, 18, 43, 51, 66, 75, 76, 105, 151-153, 168, 174, 192, 254
k'al 249
K'u-'dus 38, 39
K'o-k'om (= Bhatgaon) 82
K'yuṅ-po 97
K'yuṅ-rdsoṅ dkar-po 122
K'ye-rag 131
k'ri-skor 236
K'ri-c'en rDo-rje-'c'aṅ 218
K'ri Rin-po-c'e 4, 5, 41, 77
K'ri Rin-po-c'e dGe-'dun-p'un-ts'ogs 73, 282
K'ri Rin-po-c'e rGyal-mts'an-seṅ-ge 175, 282
K'ri Rin-po-c'e Ṅag-dbaṅ-c'os-'p'el 282
K'ri Rin-po-c'e Ṅag-dbaṅ-mc'og-ldan 105, 282
K'ri Rin-po-c'e Ṅag-dbaṅ-nam-mk'a'-bzaṅ 209, 210, 282
K'ri Rin-po-c'e Don-grub-rgya-mts'o 12, 15, 16, 282
K'ri Rin-po-c'e dPal-ldan-grags-pa 96, 105, 137, 141, 145, 153, 282
K'ri Rin-po-c'e Blo-bzaṅ-c'os-'p'el 282
K'ri Rin-po-c'e Blo-bzaṅ-'jigs-med 210, 282
K'ri Rin-po-c'e Blo-bzaṅ-dar-rgyas 73, 83, 282
K'ri Rin-po-c'e bSam-gtan-p'un-ts'ogs 282
K'ri Rin-po-c'e bSam-blo-sbuin-pa-rgya-mts'o 282
K'ri-sroṅ-lde-brtsan 83
k'rims-kyi-k'a-lo-pa 28, 246
k'rims-kyi-žal-lce-mk'an 245
k'rims-śiṅ 149
K'rom-gzigs-k'aṅ 46, 216, 227, 272, 274
mk'an-po 105, 181
mk'an-po bla-ma 276
'K'ruṅs-rabs Lha-k'aṅ 161

Gaṅs Ti-se 270
Gar-pa 138, 268
Gu-ge 82, 131
guṅ (= *fu-kuo kung*) 79
Guṅ-t'aṅ 54
Goṅ-dkar-rdsoṅ 12
grva-ts'aṅ 54
Grva-bži 44, 45, 169, 257
Grags-pa Dayan 193
Gro-śod 64, 117
Groṅ-smad 13, 44
Gliṅ-dkar 135
Glag-sgya-ri (= Lha-rgya-ri) 40
Glaṅ-t'aṅ 11
dGa'-ldan (= Galdan) 14
dGa'-ldan (in sKyid-śod) 52
dGa'-ldan (monastery) 4, 11, 16, 34, 153, 208, 210
dGa'-ldan (palace) 16, 89
dGa'-ldan K'aṅ-gsar 8, 143, 159, 167, 201
dGa'-ldan C'os-'k'or-gliṅ 197
dGa'-ldan-c'os-'p'el 131, 132
dGa'-ldan-bstan-'dsin (= Galdan Danjin) 33
dGa'-ldan-p'un-ts'ogs 269
dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbaṅ 120
dGa'-ldan-ts'e-riṅ (= Galdan Cering) 33, 150
dGa'-mo 11, 138, 268
dGa'-ts'aṅ K'o-ts'a 99
dGa'-bži family 61, 155, 159, 205, 254, 284
dGa'-bži-ba rNam-rgyal-ts'e-brtan 155, 159, 171, 175, 180, 205, 284
dGa'-bži-ba Pa-saṅs-ts'e-riṅ 205
dGa'-bži Paṇḍita; see Paṇḍita
dGa'-bži-ba Ts'e-brtan-bkra-śis 102, 103, 119, 120, 155, 284
dge-bsñen 180
dge-ts'ul 77, 189
dGe-lugs-pa 54, 99, 107, 110, 205, 235
(Jasak Ta Bla-ma) dGe-legs-c'os-rje 104

(Jasak Bla-ma) dGe-legs-c'os-'p'el 23
dge-sloṅ 105
dGon-luṅ 101, 141
dGra-'dul 61, 63, 283.
mGar 173
mGar-t'ar 103, 166, 169-171, 173-176, 206, 238
mgo-pa 254
mGon-po 269
mGon-po dṄos-grub-rab-brtan (= Paṇḍita) 180
mgron-gñer 84, 125, 181, 193, 212, 217, 226, 230, 244, 272-276
'go-pa 253
'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal 119, 175, 190, 191, 195, 198-220, 222, 223, 225-230, 232-235, 241-243, 254, 255, 271-274, 276, 278, 280, 283
'Gyur-med-dbaṅ-rgyal 210, 214, 228, 229, 283
'Gyur-med-ts'e-brtan 111
'Gyur-med-ye-śes-ts'e-brtan (= Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan) 111, 283
rGad-mo 11, 138
rGo pass 11, 12
rGya-mda' 269
rGya-'bum-sgaṅ 46
rGyaṅ-dkar-goṅ-ma 130
rGyaṅ-mk'ar 130-132, 148
rGyal-mk'ar-rtse, rGyal-rtse (= Gyantse) 3, 21
rgyal-po, rgyal-po k'ri-pa 13
rgyal-ts'ab 153, 161-163, 242
rgyal-sras 13
rGyal-sras Rin-po-c'e 'Jigs-med-ye-śes-grags-pa 153
rGyud-smad Slob-dpon 105
sGar-t'og 120
sgar-dpon 61, 103, 250, 254
sGo-maṅs 10, 53, 56, 136, 194
sGrol-ma-bu-k'rid 27
brGya-groṅ 133
brgya-dpon 250
Ṅa-p'od-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-po 72, 74, 78, 80, 84, 102-104, 109, 110, 113, 114, 117, 119, 136, 142, 143, 146, 149, 151, 264-266, 268-270, 283
(*jaisang*) Ṅag-dbaṅ-dge-'dun 199
Ṅag-dbaṅ-rgya-mts'o 162
(*dka'-bcu*) Ṅag-dbaṅ-dpal-mgon 69
Ṅag-dbaṅ-byams-pa 5, 207
Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ 8; see Dalai-Lama, Fifth
(*bičeči*) Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ 100
Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mts'an 28
Ṅag-dbaṅ-ye-śes-rgya-mts'o 18, 53, 104; see Dalai-Lama (puppet Sixth)
Ṅag-dbaṅ-yon-tan 64, 65, 88
Ṅag-dbaṅ-rin-c'en 10, 17
Ṅam-riṅs 64, 119, 127, 129, 154
mṄa'-bdag Ñaṅ Rin-po-c'e, mṄa'-bdag Brag-pa 57
mṄa'-ris, mṄ. sKor-gsum 11, 28, 36, 61-66, 76, 78, 82, 83, 85, 87, 91-94, 96, 101, 102, 117-120, 124, 125, 128-131, 139, 147, 154, 155, 159, 164, 166, 189, 190, 195, 199, 206-211, 226, 228, 233, 250-254, 265, 268, 270, 277, 278
mṄa'-ris *guṅ* 164
sṄon-mo K'u-luṅ 64

bCom-mdo 72
lCag-rtse Gri-gu 84
lCags-mdud 192
lCags-po-ri 17, 53, 76
lCaṅs-skya Qutuqtu Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-c'os-ldan 9, 19
lCaṅs-skya Qutuqtu Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje 2, 104, 105, 174, 175, 178, 179, 206, 261
lCaṅ-lo-can family 250
lCaṅ-lo-can-pa P'un-ts'ogs-dbaṅ p'yug 118
lCaṅ-lo-can-pa A-jig 118, 119, 124, 125, 135

lCaṅ-bsruṅs-kʿaṅ 16
lCog-spe-ba 57

Cʿab-mdo 80
(ʾOn) Cʿos-sdiṅs 153
(*bla-ma gñer-pa jaisang*) Cʿos-nam-mkʿaʾ 185
(Ta Bla-ma) Cʿos-ʿpʾel-dar-rgyas 176

Jo-bo 265
Jo-bo Śākya 69
ʾJam-mgon (= Tsoṅ-kʿa-pa) 153
ʾJam-dbyaṅs-bžad-pa 10, 13
ʾjaʾ-sa 104
ʾjar-go-cʿi (= *jargôci*) 87
ʾJigs-med gDoṅ-lṅa 70
lJoṅs-dga 119; see rDsoṅ-dgaʾ

Ña-cʿu 95
Ñags-roṅ 40, 63, 192
Ñaṅ 28, 43, 55, 58, 87, 123
Ñaṅ-cʿu 27, 124, 126, 133
Ñaṅ-stod 21, 30
Ñaṅ-roṅ 137
Ñi-ma-rgyal-mtsʿan 230, 280
Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal 100
gÑan-cʿen-tʿaṅ-lha 97
gÑaʾ-naṅ 27, 59, 60, 63, 119
gÑaʾ-lam 27
gñer-tsʿaṅ 149
gñer-ʾdsin 193
rÑiṅ-ma-pa 27, 53, 54, 57, 75, 83, 92, 106, 107, 109-112, 197

ta-žiṅ (= *ta-jên*) 86
gter-ston 57
gter-ma 107
gtor-zor 106
rTa-mcʿog-kʿa-bab 119
sTag-goṅ-rgyal 163
sTag-rtse sKul-sgrub 229
sTag-rtse-pa Lha-rgyal-rab-brtan 15, 40, 41, 49, 50, 52, 55, 57, 59, 61, 63, 70, 73-76, 84, 148, 241, 283
sTag-luṅ 4, 72, 84
sTag-luṅ sMan-daṅ 27
sToṅ-ʾkʿor 101, 182
sTod-luṅ 11, 12, 158
sTod-luṅ sNaṅ-rtse 12
bsTan-ʾgyur 2, 104, 161, 197
bsTan-ʾdsin 125
bsTan-ʾdsin-dgos-skyes 124
bsTan-ʾdsin Cʿos-kyi-rgyal-po, bsTan-ʾdsin Jiṅ-gir rGyal-po 13
bsTan-ʾdsin Noyan 163, 171
bsTan-ʾdsin *wang* (= Lobjang Danjin) 74
bsTan-ʾdsin-yon-ʾpʿel 193

tʿigs-pu 201
Tʿu-gvus (= Tügüs) 11
tʿugs-rdsogs 9 (Li-tʿaṅ) Tʿub-cʿen-byams-gliṅ 21
Tʿe-bo, T. kʿams-tsʿaṅ 210
tʿeb 248
Tʿer-kun Ju-naṅ Taiji 62
Tʿo-go-tʿo-lo-mgo 72
Tʿo-lo-kʿo 136
Tʿon-pa Sri-gcod-tsʿe-brtan 131, 137, 148, 155, 171, 203, 229, 270, 276, 280
Tʿob-cʿi (= Tobči) 35
Tʿos-pa-dgaʾ 56
mTʿo-ldiṅ 82, 120
mTʿoṅ-lcags-rdsoṅ 135

Da-la Taiji 43
Dag-pa Rab-ʾbyams 108, 114
Dvags-po 40, 123
Dvags-po *dge-baʾi-bśes-gñen* Blo-bzaṅ-sbyin-pa 108
Dam-pa mKʿan-po Qutuqtu Ṅag-dbaṅ-ye-śes-rgya-mtsʿo 104
Dam-pa-tsʿe-riṅ-dbaṅ-cʿen 163
Dam-ʾbag-gliṅ-kʿa 16
Dar-rgyas-tsʿe-riṅ 211, 228, 229, 283
dur-kʿrod 198
deb-tʿer 90, 247
Don-grub-tsʿe-riṅ (= Ton-drup Zze-ring) 49

Don-grub *wang* (= Dondup Dorji) 74
Dor-ga A-sa-han 105, 106
Dol 122
draṅ-sroṅ-gi-gnod-pa 120
druṅ-'k'or 84, 244
druṅ-yig bičik 276
gDaṅ-la 72
gDugs-dkar 'Je-saṅs (= *jaisang* Dugar) 35
bdag-po 82
bDe-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal 178
bDe-ldan-sgrol-ma 172, 180
bDen-bži C'os-'k'or-k'aṅ 160
mda'-dpon 84, 87, 89, 97, 111, 118, 119, 124, 135, 141, 147, 163, 185, 205, 212, 220, 230, 250, 254, 277
mDo-k'ams 251, 254
mDo-mk'ar 'Gyur-med-ts'e-dbaṅ-dpal-'byor 4
mDo-mk'ar Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal 3, 4, 84, 96, 112, 116, 125, 127, 129-131, 141, 148, 153, 155, 163, 171, 185, 191, 201, 203, 204, 207, 212, 213, 220, 229, 270, 276, 280
mDo-smad 153
'Dam 8, 11, 25, 37-39, 42, 52, 68, 72, 116, 124-126, 133, 136, 137, 160, 164, 165, 167, 217, 230, 278
'Dam-t'aṅ 153, 155
'Dus-byuṅ 57
rDo-rje-rnam-rgyal 52
rDo-rje-brag 53, 56, 106, 107
rDo-rje-'dsin-pa c'en-po 56
rDo-rje-rab-brtan 12
rDo-śul 97
ldiṅ-dpon 250
sDe-dge 22, 104
sde-pa 171, 224, 252, 276, 279
sde-srid 8-10, 14, 17, 19, 27, 32, 78, 161, 162, 178, 237-241, 246, 255, 283

Nag-c'u 11, 28, 59, 60, 67, 72, 97, 115, 137, 201, 212, 213, 220
Nag-c'u-k'a 35, 43, 96
Nag-ts'aṅ 36-38, 58, 64, 66, 68, 83-85, 91, 134, 253
Nag-śod 96, 97
naṅ-mdsod-p'yag 245
naṅ-so 181, 193
naṅ-so c'en-mo 245
naṅ-so-p'yag 245
Nan-ts'aṅ bKra-śis-rtse 181
Nam-mk'a'-ldiṅ 29
Nu-ma-ba 84, 87, 119, 124, 132
ne'u-śiṅ 136
No-c'u-dkar 40
No-no Don-ldan 120
No-no bSod-nams 178
gNam-mts'o (= Tengri-nor) 37
gNas-c'uṅ *c'os-skyoṅ* 16, 22
gNas-rñiṅ 193
gnas-mdsod-'c'aṅ-ba 57
rNam-rgyal 54
(*taiji*) rNam-rgyal 45
rNam-rgyal Grva-ts'aṅ 149
rNam-rgyal-gliṅ 53
rNam-rgyal-ts'e-brtan, see dGa'-bži-ba rN.
rNam-nub-gliṅ 124
sNaṅ-dkar-rtse 134
sNar-t'aṅ 27, 28, 91, 111, 124, 128, 161, 197
sne-mo las-'dsin 60

Pa-gro 29
pa-c'a (= *pādshāh*) 128
Pa-tag-śa-duṅ 45
Pa-snam-rdsoṅ 124, 135, 154
Pad-dkar-'dsin-pa 69
Padma-sku-rje-c'os-'p'el 275
Padma-rgyal-po 26, 283
Pad-ts'al Ts'e-bdag, Pad-ts'al-ba 212, 220
pad-śag-gi-dbaṅ 212
Paṇ-c'en 5, 9, 11, 248, 256, 258
Paṇ-c'en, First (Blo-bzaṅ-c'os-kyi-rgyal-mts'an) 107, 177
Paṇ-c'en, Second (Blo-bzaṅ-ye-śes) 11-13, 15, 18, 23, 24, 27, 30, 38, 41, 42, 48-50, 52-55, 57-60, 63-65, 69, 77, 84, 89,

91, 93, 96, 100, 104, 105, 116, 118, 123, 125, 127, 128, 130, 131, 133, 135, 137, 152-154, 158, 160, 161, 163, 164, 166, 167, 172, 174, 176, 177, 179, 182, 186, 282
Paṇ-c'en, Third (Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-ldan-ye-śes) 3, 5, 181, 185, 189, 190, 192, 193, 199, 201, 204, 209, 210, 213, 215, 220, 231, 233, 253, 261, 282
(dGa'-bži) Paṇḍita 180, 189, 201, 203, 205, 207, 212, 217-219, 221-226, 228, 229, 272-276, 279, 280, 284
Pas-se (= *beise*) 78
Pu-ciṅ (= *pu-chêng*) 86, 87
Potala 15, 16, 18, 46-49, 70, 73, 75, 77, 136, 138, 139, 141, 143, 148-150, 152, 159, 172, 175, 202, 212, 217-219, 230, 268, 273
dPa'-rtul-can Durai Taiji 43
dPal-ldan Lha-mo 11
dPal-'byor-grags-pa 163, 178
dPal-bzaṅ-skyid 27
dpuṅ-gi-k'a-lo-pa (= *mda'-dpon*) 39
dpon-slob 162
sPa-gro 162
sPo-roṅ 119
sPol-goṅ Darqan 163
sPyan-ras-gzigs 13

P'a-boṅ-k'a 81
P'ag-mo-gru 235, 246
P'ag-ri 154
P'u-luṅ-ba 250
P'un-ts'ogs-k'aṅ-gsar 59
P'un-ts'ogs-gliṅ 122
(dGa'-ldan) P'un-ts'ogs-gliṅ 60, 64, 154
P'un-ts'ogs-dbaṅ-po, P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal 210
P'un-ts'ogs-rab-brtan-dpal-'byor 46
P'ur-pa 212
P'ur-bu-lcog 5
P'o-mdo 72, 73, 136
P'o-ts'aṅ-sum-mdo 137
P'o-lha 3, 26, 27, 58, 59, 85, 91, 111, 112, 115, 117-119, 122, 124, 229
P'o-lha *taiji* (= P'o-lha-nas) 3, 59, 142
P'o-lha-nas bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas 3, 4, 28-30, 37-43, 45-47, 51, 55-61, 63-65, 75, 76, 79, 83-85, 87-91, 94, 96-99, 104, 105, 107-111, 114-133, 135-150, 152, 154-156, 158-172, 174, 175, 178, 180-182, 184-200, 203, 211, 219, 223, 229, 230, 232, 235, 238, 239, 241-243, 246-249, 251-256, 258, 265, 266, 268-271, 276-278, 283
P'o-lha-rdsoṅ-pa 26
P'yag-rdor-skyabs 45
P'yag-na-rdo-rje 15, 17
p'yag-mdsod 94, 179, 247, 249, 275, 276
P'yogs-las-rnam-rgyal 161,162
P'an-po sGo-la 11
'P'an-yul 11, 96, 137, 268
'P'el-rgyas-gliṅ 122
'P'yoṅs-rgyas 21, 231
'p'raṅ 11, 138
'p'ral-bde p'yag-mdsod 247
'P'rul-snaṅ 105, 138, 148, 168, 246, 265

Ba-ma-ri 149
Ba-so 145
Bar-c'o-k'a Qośōči 12
Bum-t'aṅ 29, 30
Be-re Khan 43
Bo-doṅ E 88
Bo-gdoṅ bKra-śis-sgaṅ 88
Bon-groṅ-pa 60
Bon-rigs Ñag-dbaṅ-bde-c'en 47, 57, 60, 112, 141, 148
Bya-dkar 30
Bya-pa 28, 47
Bya-ruṅ-k'a-śor 122
Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an 246

(*mk'an-po*) Byaṅ-rtse *slob-dpon* Ňag-dbaṅ-lhun-grub 181
Byaṅ-t'aṅ 38
Byams-pa 270
Byar 40
Bye-ri 52
Brags-dgon 131
Bra'u Ta-lo-ye (= Chou Ying) 99
Bla-c'en 54
bla-p'yag 247
Bla-braṅ (in Amdo) 10, 22
Bla-braṅ (in Lhasa) 246-248
bla-ma p'yag-mdsod-pa 185
(*mgron-gñer*) Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis 217, 219, 222-225, 272-275
Blo-bzaṅ-bskal-bzaṅ-rgya-mts'o (= Dalai-Lama, Seventh) 77, 282
Blo-bzaṅ-c'os-kyi-rgyal-mts'an (= Paṇ-c'en, First) 107, 282
Blo-bzaṅ-c'os-'p'el 48
Blo-bzaṅ-c'os-'ts'o 21
Blo-bzaṅ-bstan-'dzin 186-188
Blo-bzaṅ-dar-rgyas, see 'Bum-t'aṅ-pa B.
(*dka'-c'en*) Blo-bzaṅ-dar-rgyas 64
Blo-bzaṅ-don-yod 115
Blo-bzaṅ-padma-bkra-śis 82
Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-ldan-ye-śes (= Paṇ-c'en, Third), 181, 282
(Ta Bla-ma) Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-'byor 176
(sGo-maṅs Bla-ma) Blo-bzaṅ-p'un-ts'ogs 53
Blo-bzaṅ-rab-brtan 81
blon-c'en mi-drag 70
Bhu-ti-mur 58
(*rdsoṅ-dpon*) dBaṅ-rgyal 275
(*jasak taiji*) dBaṅ-'dus 212
dBu-ru 40
dBus 29, 37, 40-42, 53, 55, 68, 70, 79, 94, 97, 103, 116, 120, 121, 123, 124, 131-133, 135, 136, 138, 141, 147, 155, 156, 163, 195, 205, 230, 243, 250, 252-254, 275
'Bum-t'aṅ-pa 250
'Bum-t'aṅ-pa dŇos-grub 29, 30, 36, 41, 42
'Bum-t'aṅ-pa dŇos-grub-rnam-rgyal 220
'Bum-t'aṅ-pa Dar-rgyas-bkra-śis 212
'Bum-t'aṅ-pa Blo-bzaṅ-dar-rgyas 97, 141, 147, 185
'Bog 72
'Bras-k'ud 125, 127, 129, 139, 140
'Bras-spuṅs 10-12, 16, 18, 21, 34, 47, 55, 56, 58, 82, 94, 127, 136, 142, 143, 145, 158, 164, 194
'Bri-k'uṅ 72
'Bri-c'u 72
'bru-pa 277
'Brug-rgyal-rdsoṅ 163
'Brug-pa 66
'Brug-rab-rgyas 161, 162
'Broṅ-dkar-rtse 124, 163
'Broṅ-stod, 'Broṅ-smad 97
'Broṅ-btsan 171, 217, 229, 276, 280
'Broṅ-rtse dBaṅ-rgyal-rab-brtan 171
'Brom-ston-p'u 73
sBi-c'a'i-c'i (= *bičēči*) 87
sBel-sṅon-na-k'a 127
sByar-go-c'i (= *jargôci*) 87
sByar-ra-ba Blo-gros-rgyal-po 72, 80, 94, 104, 113, 117, 119, 123, 124, 126-129, 146, 149, 264, 265, 268-270, 283
(Jasak Ta Bla-ma) sByin-pa-rgya-mts'o 159

Ma-sa-ma sByar-go-c'i 86, 87
Maṅ-mk'ar bDe-gliṅ 60
maṅ-ja 150, 151
mi-dpon 245, 246
Mi-p'am-'jigs-med-nor-bu 162, 163
Mi-p'am-dbaṅ-po 178
Mi-dbaṅ (= P'o-lha-nas) 3, 121, 134, 256

Min-ts'ul Qutuqtu 141
me-skyogs 16, 125, 132
Me Ta-žiṅ (= Mailu) 156
Me-riṅ Dsaṅ-gi (= *meiren-i janggin*) 116, 146
me'i-mda'-c'en 125
Mon-pa Pad-dkar-'dsin-pa (= Pad-dkaı-'dsin-pa) 17
Mon-la-dkar-c'uṅ 29
Myaṅ-ston Rig-'dsin-rgya-mts'o 57
sman-gyi-c'u-bo 36
sMan-t'aṅ-pa 163
sMin-grol-gliṅ 27, 53, 56, 57, 83, 84, 106, 107, 109
smon-lam 10, 153, 201, 232, 249

gTsaṅ 8, 13, 27, 29, 37, 40-43, 55-57, 60, 68, 70, 76, 79, 83, 87, 88, 91, 117, 118, 120-125, 127-131, 133-135, 138, 139, 147, 154, 155, 163, 176, 177, 181, 194-196, 208, 210, 212, 215, 224, 228, 230, 243, 245, 250, 252-254, 275
gTsaṅ-pa 43
Tsaṅ-po river 60, 63, 64, 79, 80, 83, 119
gTsaṅ-roṅ 132
gTsoṅ-k'a-pa 24, 104, 107, 153
bTsan-po Nomun Qa'an 105, 141, 142, 144
btsan-btsun 83
rtsis-k'aṅ 28, 247
rtsis-dpon 4, 79, 84, 89, 112, 148, 247
rtse-druṅ 230, 244
rTses 91
rTses-t'aṅ 54, 83, 197

Ts'a-roṅ 18
Ts'a-roṅ-pa 120
Ts'aṅs-pa-dkar-po 11
Ts'aṅs-dbyaṅs-rgya-mts'o (= Dalai-Lama, Sixth) 9, 15, 16, 20, 21, 71, 282
Ts'ul-k'rims 28
Ts'ul-k'rims-t'ar-pa 108, 114
(Ta Bla-ma) Ts'ul-k'rims-bzaṅ-po 85, 86
Ts'e-mc'og-gliṅ 185
Ts'e-brtan 49, 50
Ts'e-brtan *taiji* 194
Ts'e-brtan-bkra-śis, see dGa'-bži-ba Ts.
Ts'e-brtan-rgyal (= Sebtenjal) 24
Ts'e-dbaṅ-rdo-rje-rnam-rgyal (= Cewang Dorji Namjal) 199
Ts'e-dbaṅ-nor-bu (= Cewang Norbu) 74
Ts'e-dbaṅ-rab-brtan (= Cewang Arabtan) 32
Ts'e-riṅ (= Cereng) 206
Ts'e-riṅ (= Sereng) 67
Ts'e-riṅ-bkra-śis (= Jerinraśi) 11
Ts'e-riṅ-bkra-śis (commander) 199
Ts'e-riṅ-don-grub (= Cering Donduk) 34
Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal, see mDo-mk'ar Ts.
mTs'o-k'a 22, 24

Dsum-le (= Jumla) 82
'Dsum-laṅ (= Jumla) 82
(mŅa'-ris) rDsoṅ-dkar 63
rDsogs-c'en 83
rDsoṅ-dga' 119, 122, 154
rdsoṅ-sdod 253
rdsoṅ-dpon 84, 171, 246, 250, 253, 254, 275, 276

Wa-śul Hor 103
Waṅ P'a-jo 161

Ža-mda' 29
žabs-druṅ 52, 161
žal-ṅo 123, 124
Žva-dmar 99
žol 48
gžis-ka 13
gŽis-groṅ Nor-'dsin-dbaṅ-po 57
gžis-gñer 28

(Rig-'dsin) bŽad-pa'i-rdo-rje 145

Zaṅ-zaṅ 64
Zan-g.yaṅ 106
Zab-don-lhun-rtse 162
Zur-k'aṅ-nas 123, 124
gzims-'gag žal-ño 127
gzims-dpon 212, 270
gzugs-btsun 83
gZuṅ-dar Taiji 27

'U-yug 135
'u-lag 230, 241, 244, 251, 252, 277
'Od-gsal-lha-rigs 47
'Ol-k'a 36, 54
'Ol-k'a sTag-rtse 109

Yaṅs-pa-can 98, 135, 136, 205
Yam-bu (= Kathmandu) 82
Yar-kluṅs 47
Yar-'brog 135
Yul-sbus-sde 137
yul-dmag 250
Yul-śul 97
Ye-raṅ (= Patan) 82
Ye-śes-'p'rin-las 160
Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan 111, 159, 164, 186, 189-191, 199, 206-214, 217, 228, 254
Yoṅs-'dsin c'en-po 111
Yon-tan-legs-sgrub 193
gYaṅ-ra 72, 136
gYas-ru 40
gYu-ru 40
g.yul-gyi-k'a-lo-pa (= *mda'-dpon*) 89

ra-mda' 94
Ra-mo-c'e 34
Ra-sa 'P'rul-snaṅ 93, 115; see also 'P'rul-snaṅ
Rva-sgreṅ 72, 175, 201
Rva-luṅ 59, 197
Rags-'k'or 198
Rab-brtan 275
Rab-brtan-dpal-'byor 115
Rab-brtan-śar-pa 64
rab-'byams-pa 85
(gYag-sde) Ram-pa-ba 57, 250
Ram-pa Dayan Taiji dPal-ldan-dbaṅ-rgyal 132
Ri-rgyal gŚen-dar 54
Rig-'dsin-gyi-slob-dpon-c'en-po 107
Rig-'dsin gTer-c'en C'os-kyi-rgyal-po 109
Riṅ-rdsoṅ-nas 192
(*naṅ-so*) Rin-c'en-don-grub 105
Rin-c'en-spuṅs 135
(Noyan) Rin-c'en-'p'rin-las-rab-rgyas 161, 164
Rin-c'en-rtse 28, 55, 57, 60, 118, 123, 124, 212, 229
Rin-po-c'e-bstan-'dzin-rab-rgyas 161
Ru-t'og 120
ru-dpon 125, 250
Ru-lag 40
Rog-c'e 85

La-stod 64
La-mo *c'os-skyoṅ* 10, 11
lag-'bab, lag yoṅ 248
las-slob 105
Li-t'aṅ (= Li-t'ang) 21
Lu-ma-dgo-dmar 122
Luṅ-nag Śel-dkar 60, 88
Luṅ-dmar 59
Lum-pa-nas bKra-śis-rgyal-po 72, 74, 79, 80, 88, 94, 98, 102, 108, 110, 111, 113, 115, 117, 120, 123-124, 138, 139, 142, 146, 149, 264, 265, 268-270, 283
Le-ne-k'a 124
Legs-gliṅ Ňag-dbaṅ-'jam-dpal 120
legs-'bul 210
Lo-dgon 136
Lotsawa Lha-btsun 72

Śag-c'u 28
Śaṅs 36, 61, 64, 181

Śańs-c'u 135
Śańs-pa Ras-c'en 122
Śiń-sgo-ltag-gyoń 30
śe-t'am 114
Śel-dkar K'ul-mk'ar 229
Śel-dkar Mi-'gyur-rdo-rje 60, 64
Śel-dkar-rdsoń 91, 118, 135, 160, 164
śod-druń 244
bśer-dpań 245

Sa-skya 60, 122, 131, 133, 137, 163, 253
sa-skyoń 53, 241
Sa-k'ud-pa Ye-śes-ts'e-brtan 125, 127, 131, 181
Sa-ga, Sa-dga' 91, 117, 119, 122, 127, 129, 139, 212, 253
sa-ńan 36
Sańs-rgyas (= Sanji) 35
Sańs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o 8-10, 12, 13, 17, 43, 62, 237, 241, 246
Su-lu-rgyud-t'ań 30
Sum-pa mK'an-po Ye-śes-dpal-'byor 4, 34, 136, 137
Se-ra 11, 13, 16, 34, 44, 47, 84, 93, 117, 127, 142, 143, 145, 158, 164, 170
Se-ra sMad 13
(*nań-so*) Se-ra gzims-k'ań gñer-pa 181
Seń-ge 113, 114, 116, 128, 141, 143, 146, 155, 156, 158, 160, 164, 168-170, 255, 265, 266, 268, 269, 284
Seń-ge-rnam-rgyal 82
Seń Ta-žiń (= Seń-ge) 156
Seń-rtse 85
(Grub-dbań) Sems-dpa'-c'en-po 136
Sog 137
Srad, Srad-c'u 28
Sri-gcod-ts'e-brtan, see T'on-pa S.
Sroń-btsan-sgam-po 173, 246
gSań-c'en-sñiń-po 107, 108
gsań-ste 105
gSer-k'og 72, 101
gser-yig-pa-c'en-po 29, 120
gsol-dpon 193, 276
bSam-grub-gliń-pa 43, 118
bSam-grub-sgrol-ma 212, 220
bSam-grub-snań 158
bSam-grub-p'o-brań 229, 232
bSam-gtan-gliń 54
(*sku-mdun sńags-rams-pa*) bSam-gtan-rgyal-mts'an 77, 113, 145, 265
bSam-ldiń 53
bSam-yas 52, 83, 106, 110, 176, 178
bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas (= P'o-lha-nas) 3, 26, 27
bSod-nams-dar-rgyas (= Father of the Seventh Dalai-Lama) 21, 264

Hor-k'a-gži 28, 97
(Jasak Taiji) Hor-k'ań-gsar 220
Lha-klu dGa'-ts'al 16, 146
(*p'yag-mdsod-pa*) Lha-skyabs 275
Lha-rgya-ri 40
Lha-rtse 28, 64, 122, 124, 154
lha-žol 48, 138
Lha-bzań (= Lajang Khan) 9, 13
Lha-ri 258
Lha-luń-rtse-pa 135
Lhasa 2, 7, 9, 11, 12, 17-20, 22, 23, 25-27, 34-38, 40, 42-45, 48, 50-57, 59, 61-63, 65, 67-71, 73, 74, 76-82, 84-86, 88-93, 95-103, 105, 107, 110-112, 115-119, 122, 123, 125-146, 148-156, 158, 160, 164-182, 184, 185, 187, 191, 192, 194-196, 198, 199, 201, 203-209, 211-229, 231, 233, 235, 237, 239, 240, 245, 246, 249, 251-253, 255-261, 263, 268, 269, 271, 274, 278
Lhag-bsam 270
Lhun-grub-rdsoń 73

Lhun-gliṅ Blo-bzaṅ-dge-'dun 178-181
Lho-dgon 64
Lho-pa 193
Lho-roṅ-c'u 98
Lho-roṅ-rdsoṅ 80, 103

A-c'i-t'u K'i-yā (= Ačitu *hiya*) 23
A-c'os 75
A-jo-dpal-dbaṅ 134
A-jo Bla-ma 122
A-ñen-bkra-śis 129
A-mdo 10, 51, 100
A-mdo-ba' (= Caγan Danjin) 22
A-ži-ts'aṅ 21
A-li-ha Am-pa (= *aliha amban*) 146
A-sa Am-ba, A-sa-han Am-ba (= *asḥan-i amban*) 86, 87, 99, 116
U-k'ar-tā (= Uqātu) 185
U-c'ur K'a-śi-k'a 138
E-pa Blo-bzaṅ-dkon-mc'og 69, 70
E-spos (= Aboo) 74
E-dmar-sgaṅ 64
O-rgyan-gliṅ 91
O-roṅ-pa 39, 40, 42

II. GENERAL

abhicāra 106
Aboo 74, 80, 81, 83-85, 92, 93
Ačitu 23
A-êrh-hsün 171, 178, 255, 284
A-êrh-pu-pa (= Ña-p'od-pa) 264
alaṃkāra 4
A-la-pu-tan (= Rab-brtan) 275
Alashan 74
aliḥa amban 146, 152
Amdomba (= A-mdo-ba) 22, 32
amban 61, 87
Angelico da Brescia 26
Arantai 189
asḥan-i amban 86, 94, 96, 98, 100, 116
Aśita 37, 41
Atag Hopchiga 99
Avalokiteśvara 15, 20
Ayuki 165
Ayuśi Khan 39

Bakṣi 55
Bandhe rDor-k'e An-pa (= Bandi) 105
Bandi 104-106, 108, 213, 214, 221, 224-226, 228, 231, 266, 273, 279, 284, 285
Baring Taiji 29
Barköl 160
Batang 67, 78, 80, 103, 179, 180, 258, 279
Bathor Tacy 21
Bayasqulang rDo-rje *jaisang* 185
beile 47, 164
beise 74, 78, 155, 231
Belluga, cardinal Luis Antonio 239
Bhatgaon 82
Bhutan 27, 29, 30, 35, 66, 82, 161, 163, 164, 171, 178, 190
bičēči 16, 28, 87, 100, 219, 227, 256, 268, 274
bilik 59
biṭheśi (= *bičēči*) 87, 94
bodhi 15
Bodhimur 58
Bodh Nath 122
Bogle, George 256
Boitalaq 33
Booju 9
Bonaventura da Lapedona 26
Bośoγtu Jinong 22
Brahma 11
Buśuqtu 43
Bya-gha (= Bya-dkar) 30

Caçal 61

(Daižing Qošōči) Caγan Danjin 22-24, 28, 32, 41, 69, 71, 72, 82, 95, 117, 261
Caγan Nomun Qān 28, 101
Calon Poletagy(= *bka'-blon* P'o-lha *taiji*) 142
Capuchins 2, 7, 20, 21, 25, 26, 34, 46, 54, 63, 88, 101, 117, 133, 142, 153, 189-191, 220, 246, 248
Cassiano (Beligatti) da Macerata 21, 113, 159, 172, 190, 244, 245, 249, 252
Central Asia 32, 200
Central Tibet 11, 40, 51, 78, 175, 193, 207, 255
Cereng 206-208, 220, 221, 223-226, 230, 231, 271-273, 275, 278-281
Cering Donduk (Dsungar) 34, 35, 37, 39, 43, 44, 46, 49, 51-54, 56, 59, 62, 63, 66-68, 77, 107
Cering Donduk (Khan of the Kalmuk) 179
Cewang Arabtan 32-34, 50, 51, 62, 67, 69, 147, 285
Cewang Dorji Namjal 199, 203, 285
Cewangjambu 33
Cewang Norbu 67, 70, 74, 80-86, 92, 93
Cha-êrh-nai (= sByar-ra-nas) 264
Chahar 17, 43, 50
Chaka-dsong (= Bya-dkar) 30
Chaktak-tsangpo 91
Cha-k'o-pa Ta-yen (= Grags-pa Dayan) 193
Ch'a-ma-chung 21
Cha-mu-pa (= Byams-pa) 270
Chamdo (= C'ab-mdo) 80, 86, 92, 94, 96, 157, 165-167, 170, 171, 187, 188, 192, 207, 258, 267
Chang K'o-ts'ai 168, 170
Chang-chia Qutuqtu (= lCaṅ-skya Qutuqtu) 2
Ch'ang-ming 271-274
chang-tzŭ 190
ch'an-shih 101
Chan-tui 192
Chao (= Lhasa) 265, 271
Chao Êrh-hsün 6
Chao-hui 224, 226, 231, 279, 280
Cha-shih (= Grva-bži) 170
Cha-shih-la-pu-tan (= bKra-śis-rab-brtan) 275
Chaya (= Brag-g.yab) 225
Che (= Ts'e-mc'og-gliṅ 185
Ch'ê-ch'ên Ha-shih-ha (= Sečen Haśiha) 275
Ch'êng-tu 173
chên-kuo kung 74, 191
Ch'i Chün-tsao 6
Ch'i Yün-shih 6
Ch'i-ch'êng 274
Ch'i-mo-t'ê 183
Chi-shan 180, 182, 184, 188, 205-208, 211, 213, 214, 222, 277, 284, 285
Chiang-ning 270
Chiang-ta (= rGya-mda') 269
Chiao Yin-ch'i 7
Chien-ch'ang 273
chien-li-pu shih-lang 94
Ch'ien-lung 6, 36, 176, 184, 189, 192, 213, 214, 216, 260, 261, 284
ch'ien-tsung 274
Chiesré Rimbocé (= rGyal-sras Rin-po-c'e) 153
Chin-ch'uan 188, 202, 205, 206
Ch'ing 25
Ching-chou 270
Ch'ing-pao (= Cingboo) 165
ch'ing-wang 74
Chomdo (= bCom-mdo) 72
cho-ni-êrh (= *mgron-gñer*) 276
cho-ni Lo-pu-tsang-cha-shih (= *mgron-gñer* Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis) 272
Chou Ch'i-fêng 168, 170
Chou K'ai-chieh 267, 268
Chou Ying 95, 98, 99, 104, 156, 267, 269

chou-tʻung 271
Chʻui-mu-cha-tʻé 275
chung-i pi-chʻi-ko (= *druṅ-yig bičik*) 276
chün-wang 74, 180, 190
chu-pa (= *ʾbru-pa*) 277
chu-shih 274
Chʻü-tʻan 23
chu-Tsang ta-chʻên 255
Cingboo 165, 168-171, 284
Čingwang Bātur Taiji (= Daśi Bātur) 21
Čingwang Wangčuk 211, 212
Čino-γol 67
Cobči 35
Coγtu Khan 43
Compil 35, 68, 69
Costantino da Loro 134, 238, 253, 256
Culcim Dsangbu Ramjamba (= Tsʻul-kʻrims-bzaṅ-po *rab-ʾbyams-pa*) 85

Dabchi (= Grva-bži) 44
Daičing Bātur 36
Daičing Bātur (= Kʻaṅ-cʻen-nas) 78
Daičing Qośūči (= Caγan Danjin) 41
Dalai Bātur (= ʾGyur-med-rnam-rgyal) 175, 190
Dalai Khan 9
Dalai-Lama (in general) 5, 8, 19, 44, 236-240, 242, 244, 247, 252, 255, 276
Dalai-Lama, Third 21
Dalai-Lama, Fifth 8, 9, 16, 17, 21, 48, 49, 83, 107, 202, 232, 236, 237, 239, 240, 246, 248, 253
Dalai-Lama, Sixth 9, 10, 12-17, 20, 21, 56, 237, 238, 240, 241, 282
Dalai-Lama, puppet Sixth 18-20, 38, 53, 71, 76, 105, 108, 237, 240, 282
Dalai-Lama, Seventh 26, 32, 34, 35, 41, 43, 44, 51, 53, 54, 63, 68-73, 75-77, 81-84, 88, 89, 91, 93, 94, 96, 98, 100, 101, 103-106, 108-111, 113, 114, 116-118, 120, 123, 127, 128, 131, 133, 141-143, 145, 147, 148, 151-156, 158, 159, 161, 166, 167, 168-182, 185, 189, 191-193, 198, 199, 201, 204-207, 209, 212, 217-223, 225-227, 229-233, 237, 238, 241, 245, 264-266, 268, 271-282
Dalai-Lama, Eighth 179
Dalai Qungtaiji 95
Darin 86, 87
darqan 77, 265
Darqan Yaśor 275
Daśi Bātur 21, 71
Datses 40
Dayan Qungtaiji 47
Dayan Taiji (= Ram-pa-ba) 132, 135, 137
Deb Raja 161
Delhi 128
Derge (= sDe-dge) 22, 103
Desideri, Ippolito 2, 7, 10, 12, 25, 34, 37, 40, 42-45, 47, 49, 50, 54, 61, 63, 70, 75, 76, 79, 100, 247, 248, 250
Dharma Raja 161
Dolon-nor 17
Domenico da Fano 17, 20, 25, 26, 34, 37, 38, 46, 47, 53-55, 67, 70, 79, 242, 245, 247
Dondup Dorji 74
dorgi aṣhan-i amban 106
Dorji 231
Drongtse (= ʾBroṅ-rtse) 124, 125, 163
Dsungaria 13, 34, 35, 49, 61, 62, 64, 68, 76, 98, 99, 151, 188, 203, 208, 219, 222, 233, 234
Dsungars 14, 24, 31-34, 36-41, 44-70, 72-78, 80, 83, 84, 88, 91-93, 97, 107, 114, 120, 125, 132, 141, 145, 147-151, 158, 160, 165-169, 174, 179, 182-189, 195, 199-203, 228, 232-234, 237, 240, 241, 246,

251, 255, 260, 265, 278, 285
Dugar 35, 68
Dugar Sanduk 35, 66
Druggye-jong (= 'Brug-rgyas-rdsoń) 163
(dPa'-rtul-can) Durai Taiji 43

Eastern Tibet 21, 175, 210
Erdeni Jinong 97
Erentei 25, 59, 60, 67, 69
Êrh-ku-lung (= dGon-luń) 101
Erke Daičing 29
(T'ar-pa) Erke Taiji 38, 39, 41

fang-yü 267
Father of the Seventh Dalai-Lama (bSod-nams-dar-rgyas) 69-71, 73, 75, 77, 79, 80, 82-84, 94, 98, 100, 108-110, 113, 114, 117, 118, 124, 127, 131, 133, 137, 141, 142, 145, 148, 154, 172, 174, 175, 189, 244, 264
Francesco Orazio della Penna 73, 100, 115, 141, 148, 149, 153, 154, 165, 172, 181, 182, 195, 245, 257
French 26
Freyre, Manoel 61
Fuca clan 113
fu chiang 267
Fucing, Fu-ch'ing 187, 192-194, 197-200, 202, 204, 206, 208, 210, 211, 213-218, 222, 227, 234, 272, 274, 285
Fu-k'ang-an 227
fu-kuo kung 50, 79, 159, 164, 173, 180, 189
Funingga 36, 66, 69
fu-tu-t'ung 116, 146

gabulun (= *bka'-blon*) 45
Galbi 35, 67, 68, 80, 81
Galdan 22, 78, 241, 285
Galdan Cering 33, 50, 150, 183, 185, 189, 199, 285
Galdan Danjin 28, 33, 34, 38
Galtsang Guja 99
gandhola 128
Gartok 61, 62, 120
Giamda-dsong (= rGya-mda'-rdsoń) 269
Gioacchino da Santa Anatolia 53, 54, 88, 100, 115, 117, 142, 146, 153, 168, 169, 191, 195, 244
Giuseppe da Ascoli 18
Go *lao-yeh* 163
Grand Council 102, 187, 206, 211, 221, 222, 258, 278
Grand Secretariat 70, 92, 103, 106, 160, 258
Green Banners 86, 92, 145, 160, 266, 267
Guhyagarbha 107
Gungga-nor 17
Gurkha war 6, 99, 251, 256
gusai-da 278
Guśri Khan 8, 18, 21, 22, 43, 52, 74, 95, 196, 236, 238-240
Gyantse (= rGyal-rtse) 27, 28, 59, 60, 64, 117, 119, 123-125, 130-132, 134, 135, 139, 154, 163, 193, 212

Ha-chi-êrh Tê-pu-t'ê-êrh (= Hajir Debter) 187
Hajir, Hajir Debter 187, 188, 200
Ha-la-ha-ta (= Qara-qada) 188
Hami 69, 182-184
Hanggilu, Hang-i-lu 177, 178, 180, 284
hiya 23
Ho Yü-lin 96
Ho-êr-kan-tzŭ 95
homa 106
Horba 95
Ho-shang 163
Ho-shou 19, 20, 255, 284
hošo efu 74
Hsi-an fu 24, 86, 145, 266
hsiao-ch'i-hsiao 267, 278
Hsi-chu 14, 16
hsieh-êrh-po-mu (= *bśer-dpań*) 245

hsieh-li 103
hsieh-ling 267, 278
hsüeh-shih 104
hsi-mu-pên Ch'ui-cha-t'ê 270
Hsi-ning 15-17, 23, 24, 54, 66, 69-71, 92, 98, 101, 117, 146, 168, 182, 221, 222, 267-269, 277
hsün-fu 86
Huang Yüan-lung 218, 274
Huang-ho 72
Huang-ho Nan *ch'ing-wang* 22
hu-chün-ts'an-ling 14
hu-chün-t'ung-ling 167
hui-t'ung shih-lang 102
hui-t'ung t'i-tu 104
Hui-yüan-miao 173
Hung-shan 23

i-chêng wang ta-ch'ên 264
I-fa-kung-shun-han 15
Ili 14, 33, 35, 50, 58, 60, 68, 179, 233
Inner Mongolia 100
Italian missionaries 2, 7, 13, 17, 25, 100, 108, 136, 151, 181, 195, 197, 238, 246

jaisang 22, 35, 199, 200, 242, 245, 278
Jalangga 145-148, 150, 152-158, 172, 180, 266-270, 284
Jarbušib 12
jargôci, jaryuči 87, 159, 256
Jasak Ta Bla-ma 91, 276, 280
jasak taiji 104, 155, 159, 276, 280
Jecün Damba Qutuqtu 19
Jehol 76, 233, 261
Jên Kuo-jung 172
Jerinraśi 11, 12, 38, 50
Jesuits in China 19, 20, 25
jingal 125
Jingis Khan 13
Jongkha (= rDsoń-dga') 119
Joo-modo 39
Jotba Bātur 24
Jumla 82
Junwang Galdan Erdeni Jinong (= Caγan Danjin) 21, 22
Juriqtu Daiji 226

Ka-chin-lin-ch'in (= bKa'-'drin-rin-c'en[?]) 186
K'a-êrh-tan-pên-ch'u-k'o (= dGa'-ldan-p'un-ts'ogs) 269
Kailasa 154, 270
Kalmuks 77, 165, 179
ka-lung (= *bka'-blon*) 264
k'a-lun (= *karun*) 268
K'a-mu (= dGa'-mo) 262
Kandse (= Hor K'aṅ-rtse) 95
K'ang-ch'i-nai (= K'aṅ-c'en-nas) 36, 109
K'ang-chou 270
K'ang-hsi 6, 14, 15, 18, 19, 23, 33, 34, 66, 68, 70, 71, 81, 90-92, 155, 176, 205, 241, 255, 260
Kang-ti-szŭ (= Gaṅs Ti-se) 270
k'an-pu (= *mk'an-po*) 181
Kansu 36, 76, 92, 206, 221, 259
K'a-pa (= Gar-pa) 268
Ka-pi Tung-lo-pu La-ma (= Ka-spe Don-grub Bla-ma) 164
kapulun (= *bka'-blon*) 264
Karo-la 205
karun 268
ka-sha (= *bka'-śag*) 276
Kashgaria 179, 186
Ka-ta (= mGar-t'ar) 103, 165, 173
Kathmandu 82, 122
Keriya Kötel 98, 99
Khalamba-la 135
Khalkha 19, 74
Khotan 35
Kiakhta 165
Kiangsi 19
Kichu (= sKyid-c'u) 43
Kirong (= sKyid-groṅ) 27
Köke-qoton 15
K'o-li-yeh 98
Ko-lo-k'o Ch'o-êrh-chi (= dGe-legs-c'os-rje) 104

Ko-lo-tsang Ku-cha (= Galtsang Guja) 99
Kongka Dzong (= Goṅ-dkar-rdsoṅ) 12
Korciapa (= *skor-lcag-pa*) 245
kotvāl 245
kuan-li hsi-tsang shih-wu 19
Kuei-chou 96, 267
Kukunor 4, 11, 15, 17, 18, 21-24, 27, 28, 33, 35, 37, 38, 41-43, 47, 48, 51, 66-72, 74, 76, 77, 82, 83, 95-98, 100, 101, 105, 116, 117, 159, 174, 182, 211, 213, 214, 222, 240, 259, 273, 278
Kun-chʻu-kʻo-la-ku-pa 269
Kun-pu (mGon-po) 269
Kun-tu-a-la-mu-pa (= *sku-mdun sṅags-rams-pa*) 265
Kuo, prince 174, 176
kuo-shih 101
ku-shan-ta (= *gusai-da*) 278
Kuti 27, 190
Kutubal (= *kotvāl*) 245

Labdon 204, 205, 208, 210, 211, 213-218, 227, 234, 272, 274, 285
Ladakh 27, 30, 82, 100, 120, 178, 179, 233
Lajang Khan 9-30, 32-43, 45-52, 55-59, 61, 62, 66, 67, 69, 71, 72, 75, 76, 79, 80, 84, 105, 114, 124, 136, 159, 161, 166, 186, 188, 196, 232, 237, 240-243, 245, 250, 254, 255, 260, 283
La-kʻo-kun-pu 275
La-kʻo-sang (= Lhag-bsam) 270
Lama Darja 232, 285
Langdong (= Glaṅ-tʻaṅ) 11
lao-yeh 99
La-pu-tun (= Labdon) 204
La-tu-hun 18, 28
(*taiji*) Lavang Jamco 27
Leng-tsung-nai (= Riṅ-rdsoṅ-nas[?]) 192
Lhundrup-dsong (= Lhun-grub-rdsoṅ) 73
Li-chu 168, 169
li-fan-yüan 19, 205, 257, 259
li-fan-yüan lang-chung 94
liang-wu tʻung-pʻan 271
Likiang 67
ling-chih 149
ling-tsʻui 268
li-pu 269
Li-tʻang 17, 21, 22, 35, 67, 68, 71, 78, 80, 103, 151, 160, 171-173, 179, 180, 258, 279
Lobjang Danjin 38, 71, 74, 95-99, 101, 151
Lobjang Śerap 27
Lobjang Śono 50
Lokeśvara 70
Lo-pu-tsang-tan-tsen (= Blo-bzaṅ-bstan-ʾdsin) 186
luan-i-shih 267
Lungma (= Luṅ-dmar) 59
Lung-pu-nai (= Lum-pa-nas) 264
Lu-ting 81

Mahādeva 70
Mahmud 199, 200
Mailu 145, 146, 154, 156, 158, 165, 168-170, 266, 267, 284
Mala 113, 114, 116, 128, 132, 141, 143, 146, 155, 156, 160, 165, 167, 169-172, 176, 255, 265, 268, 269, 284
Man-chin Tê-shih-nai 275
mantra 106
Man-tu 85, 86
Maryum-la 64
māśā 88
meiren-i janggin 116, 146, 189
Miao-shou 165
Ming dynasty 101, 260
Miyoośeo 165, 169, 171
Moghul 129
mohar 88
Mongolia 15, 24, 165, 259
Mongols 23, 32, 39, 51, 54, 56-58, 60, 62, 64, 66, 68, 72, 77, 80, 96-98, 107, 116, 123-126, 133, 136, 137, 166, 220, 261, 278

Monguor 23
Monlakachung (= Mon-la-dkar-c'uṅ) 30
Murui Usu 99, 188
Mu-ts'an *mk'an-po* bla-ma 98

Nai-ko (= Neige) 166
Na-khi 67
Namjal 221, 224, 226, 231, 279, 285
Nangkartse-Dsong (= sNaṅ-dkar-rtse) 134, 136
Nang-su (= *naṅ-so*) 181
Nasutai, Na-su-t'ai 171, 175, 177, 178, 284
Neige 166, 172-174
nei-ko hsüeh-shih 18, 94, 106
Nepal 26, 27, 61, 82, 88, 100, 122, 182, 220, 248
Nien Kêng-yao 67, 74, 81, 85, 86, 92, 95, 97, 101-103
Ni-ma-chia-mu-ts'an (= Ñi-ma-rgyal-mts'an) 280
Noyan Lin-ch'in-ch'i-lei-la-pu-chi (= Rin-c'en-'p'rin-las-rab-rgyas) 164
Noyan Qośūči Rab-brtan 132, 135

O(?) Darqan bsKal-bzaṅ-c'os-dar 269
Oci, O-ch'i 104, 106, 108, 113, 114, 264, 284
Odon-tala 72
O-êrh-t'ai 267
O-lai (= Orai) 94
Ölöt 116
Omosu 135
Orai 94, 96, 98, 102
O-ta-êrh-han K'a-êrh-tsang-ch'ui-ta-êrh (= O[?] Darqan bsKal-bzaṅ-c'os-dar 269

Padma 16, 85-87
Padmasambhava 53, 107
Padshah 212
Paljor-rabtan (= P'un-ts'ogs-dpal-'byor-rab-brtan) 46, 56
Palti lake 134, 154
Panam-dsong (= Pa-snam-rdsoṅ) 125
Pan-kun 192
Pan-ti (= Bandi) 104
P'an-yü (= 'P'an-yul) 268
Paro (= Pa-gro, sPa-gro) 29, 163
Patan 82
Pa-t'ê-ma-ku-êrh-chi-ch'un-p'i-lo (= Padma-sku-rje-c'os-'p'el) 275
Patna 26
pa-tsung 217
Pei-lung-sha-k'o-pa 275
Peking 15-17, 19, 20, 23, 47, 69, 71, 76, 81, 85, 94, 100, 104, 106, 107, 113, 114, 116, 118, 128, 145, 146, 152, 154, 156, 160, 164, 166, 167, 170, 173, 175, 176, 181, 182, 186, 187, 194, 195, 199, 202, 203, 206, 207, 210, 213, 220, 221, 223, 227, 231, 233, 252, 256, 258, 261, 268
Pel-Lamo (= La-mo) 11
Penbogo-la ('P'an-po sGo-la) 11
Phari (= P'ag-ri) 154, 163
Phongdu (= P'o-mdo) 72, 136
Pindsoling (= P'un-ts'ogs-gliṅ) 60
pi-t'ieh-shih (= *biṭheśi*) 87
P'o-lo-nai (= P'o-lha-nas) 3
Po-mu-pao 37
pu-chêng shih-szŭ 86, 87
Pu-lu-k'o-pa (= 'Brug-pa) 66
Pu-lung-tsan (= 'Broṅ-btsan) 171
Pumthang (= Bum-t'aṅ) 29, 30
Putte, Samuel van de 136
pu-yüan ya-mên 268

Qalqa 27
Qara-qada 188
Qara-usu 28, 35, 60, 132, 199, 212, 278
Qoit 34

Qošot 8-14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 27-29, 35, 38, 39, 41, 42, 47, 50, 52, 61, 62, 68, 74, 75, 136, 195, 236, 237, 239, 240, 242, 246, 282
qubilγan 22-24, 70

Raga-tsangpo 64
Régis, Jean-Baptiste 19
Renat 39
Rhe (= Srad) 28
Rhechu (= Srad-c'u) 28
Rinpung-dsong (= Rin-c'en-spuṅs) 135
Rome 26
Rongchu (= Roṅ-c'u) 132, 135
ṛṣibādhā 120

Śaγdurjab 45
Sa-hai (= Sa-dga') 212
Sain Noyan 74
Saka-jong (= Sa-dga'-rdsoṅ) 91
Samada 125
san-chi ta-ch'ên 267
Sangsang (= Zaṅ-zaṅ) 64
Sanji 35, 51
san-yang 106
Sebtenjal 24, 27
Sečen Haśiha 275
Sê-chu-t'ê-sê-pu-t'êng (= T'on Sri-gcod-ts'e-brtan) 270
Seerkok (= gSer-k'og) 101
Sê-êrh-k'o-ma 277
Sê-êrh-t'u (= Sertu) 86
Sê-ku-nai (= Sa-k'ud-nas) 125
Śengju 25, 85
Sêng-ko (= Seṅ-ge) 113
Sereng 67
Sertu 86, 87
shang-cho-t'ê-pa (= *p'yag-mdzod-pa*) 276
Shang-cho-t'ê-pa La-cha-pu (= *p'yag-mdsod-pa* Lha-sky-abs) 275
Shang-nan-to-êrh-chi (= P 'yag-na-rdo-rje) 15
shang-shu 19
Shapchu (= Śabs-c'u) 28
Shekar-dsong (= Śel-dkar-rdsoṅ) 60
Shêng-chu (= Śengju) 25
Shêng-tsu 91
Shensi 103, 145, 156, 165, 168, 180, 221, 266-268
Shentsa-dsong 85
Shigatse (= gŽis-ka-rtse) 28, 54, 60, 64, 84, 106, 123, 124, 127, 130, 133, 135, 171, 219, 258
Shih Ju-chin 85, 86
shih-lang 86
Shih-tsung 176
shih-tu hsüeh-shih 85
shih-wei 23
Shu-ch'un 231
Siberia 165
siddhānta 106, 108
Sikkim 28, 82, 100
Sinkiang 36
So-pai 184-187, 189, 198, 199, 202, 204
Spain 154, 239
ssŭ-kuan 268
sui-pên (= *gsol-dpon*) 276
Sung-p'an 95
Sung-yün 61
Surja 33, 37, 38, 40-42, 48-50, 75, 166, 167
sūtra 106, 280
Szechwan 66-68, 74, 78, 80, 81, 85, 92, 95, 103, 116, 145, 156, 164, 166, 168, 170, 172, 176, 179, 180, 187, 188, 192, 202, 205-207, 211, 215, 220, 221, 226, 231, 258, 266-268, 271, 273, 275, 280

Ta Bla-ma 93, 94
ta-ch'en 87, 103, 114, 265, 266
Ta-chien-lu 67, 78, 81, 92, 95, 103, 180, 221, 224, 226, 249, 258, 273, 274, 277
Ta-êrh-han Ya-hsün (= Darqan Yaśor) 275
taiji 52, 79, 94, 104, 155, 205, 278

Taiji Chi-mu-pa 98
T'ai-ning (= mGar-t'ar) 103
tai-pên (= *mda'-dpon*) 277
ta-jên 86
Ta-ko-tsan 52
Takpo Rangiamba (= Dvags-po *rab-'byams-pa*) 108
Taktse-dsong (= sTag-rtse-rdsoṅ) 52
ta-lao-yeh 99
T'a-lin (= Darin) 86
ta-li-ssŭ chêng-ch'ing 165
Ta-nai 98
t'ang-chu-shih 218
Tankar (= sToṅ-'k'or) 182, 183
Targum Treêscij 10, 49, 50, 62, 63
Tarim 201
Tengri-nor 11, 36, 37, 99, 125, 137, 160, 164, 168, 170, 199, 257
terigün taiji 62
Tê-shih-nai 275
Thuée 55, 67, 79
tieh-pa (= *sde-pa*) 276
T'ien-ning 165
Tisri (= *sde-srid*) 8
Tobči 35, 66, 68
Τογο-τολογοi 72
Tolung (= sTod-luṅ) 11
Toling (= mT'o-ldiṅ) 82
Ton-drup-zze-ring 49, 50, 62
Tongsa 30
Τοργud, Torgut 39, 165, 166
toro-beile 167
Tranquillo d'Appecchio 190
Trigu-dson (= lCag-rtse Gri-gu) 84
Troshot (= Gro-śod) 64
Tsachu-tsangpo 64
Tsaidam 50, 66, 187, 200
ts'an-chiang 218
Ts'ê 185
Ts'ê-leng (= Cereng) 206
Ts'ê-ling-wang-cha-êrh (= mDo-mk'ar Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal) 270
Ts'êng-pên Wang-cha-lo (*rdsoṅ-dpon* dBaṅ-rgyal) 275
Tsetang (= rTses-t'aṅ) 153
Ts'ê-t'a-êrh 218, 274
tso-ling 267, 278
Tsonka (= rDsoṅ-dga') 119
tso-tu-yü-shih 145
tsung-kuan-ping 95
tsung-li 103, 109
tsung-shih 104
tuan-shih-jên 87
Tügüs *jaisang* 11, 12, 28, 43
T'u-kuan Qutuqtu Ṅag-dbaṅ-c'os-kyi-rgya-mts'o 72, 101, 261
Tumsi-kang (= K'rom-gzigs-k'aṅ) 216
Tung-fang 273
Tung-ka-êrh 182
Tung-kung 271
T'ung-ning 213
T'ung-ssŭ-k'ang ya-mên (= K'rom-gzigs-k'aṅ) 272
Turkestan 35, 62, 76, 98, 99
Tuśetu 74

Uičing Noyan P'un-ts'ogs-bde-legs 119, 120, 125, 129, 130
Uičing Taiji 28
Unkovskij 13, 34
Uqātu 183-185

Vangjal 9
Volga 77, 165, 179

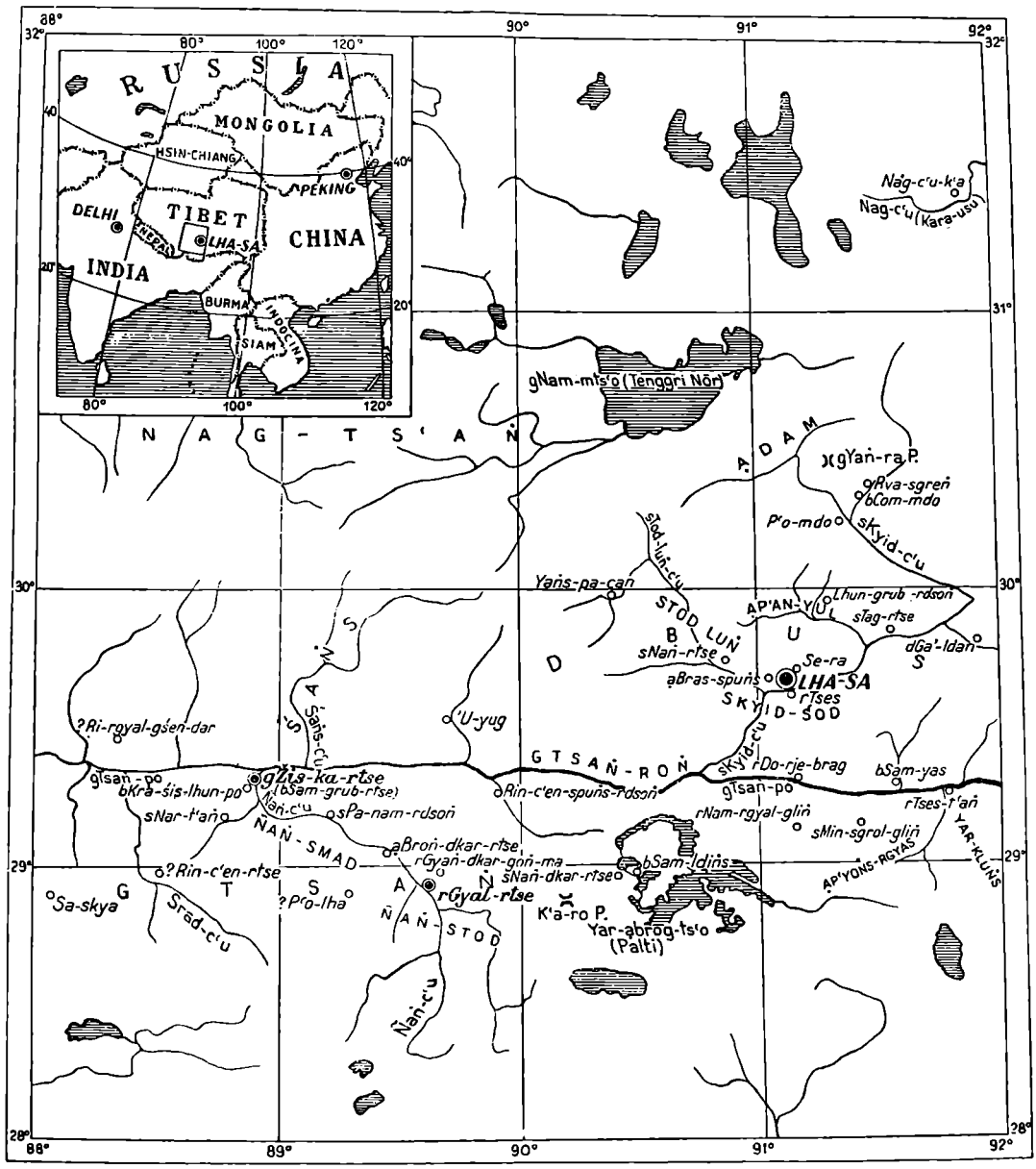
Wang T'ing-pin 272
Wang-chieh (= dBaṅ-rgyal) 275
Western Tibet 28, 36, 51, 61-63, 80, 98, 103, 120, 154
Wu-ho-t'u (= Uqātu) 183

Yang Ta-li 165, 168
Yalung-chiang 95
Yang-pa-ching (= Yaṅs-pa-can) 98
Yangtzekiang 72
Yansin 68, 71, 74, 75, 80, 81, 284
Yarkand 36, 233

Yen Chʻing-ju 268
Yen-hsin (= Yansin) 68
Yin-chi-shan 221
Yin-jui 272
Yüan 14, 260
yüan-wai-lang 85, 257
yu-chi 267, 272
Yüeh Chung-chʻi 97, 101, 103, 144, 202, 206-208, 221, 224, 226, 266, 268, 269, 127-273
Yung-chêng 6, 91, 109, 155, 176, 204, 260, 261, 264, 284
Yung-ho-kung 261
Yün-li 174
Yünnan 35, 80, 92, 96, 145, 156, 165, 267
Yün-tʻi 63, 66, 68, 70-72
Yü-pao 184, 185, 200, 201

TIBET
RUSSIA
MONGOLIA
HSIN-CHIANG
PEKING
DELHI
NEPAL
TIBET
LHA-SA
CHINA
INDIA
BURMA
INDOCHINA
SIAM
Hajin
KANSU
Köke-nōr
sTon-ak'or (Tongkar)
Hsi-ning
sKu-abum
LAN-CHOU
Kun-dga'-nōr
KĀNŌR
Hoang-ho
C'u-dmar (Namsitu Ulan-muren)
SKAR-MA-T'AN
(ODON-TALA)
Tsaring-nōr
Oring-nōr
rMa-c'u (Hoang-ho)
dMar-c'u (Ulan-muren)
aBri-c'u (Murui-usu)
BYAN-T'AN
gBri-c'u (Yangtze)
dGa'-ts'an-K'o-ts'a
bKra-śis-dgon-pa
Ña-c'u (Ya-lung-chiang)
sKye-dgu-mdo
Hoang-ho
Sung-p'an-t'ing
Min-ho
RU-TOGS
Indus
gDan P.
rDsa-c'u (Mekong)
sDe-dge
Kantse
Ta-chin-chiang
SZECHWAN
CH'ENG-TU
MÑA'-RIS
Satlej
sGar-abrog
Nag-c'u (Kara-usu)
Nag-c'u-k'a
KAMS
C'ab-mdo
Nag-c'u (Salween)
La-ñag-mts'o (Rakas Tal)
Ma-p'am (Manasarovar)
Mar-yum P.
NAGTS'AN
Sen-rtse (Senja-dsong)
gNam-mts'o (Tenggri-nōr)
Lha-ri
Lho-roñ-rdson
mGar-t'ar (Ka-ta)
Ya-lung-chiang
K'or-c'ags (Khojarnāth)
Karnali
AGRO-ŚOD
glsañ-po
ADAM
Yarñs-pa-can
Rva-sgreñ
aBri-guñ
skyid-c'u
Lan-ts'ang-chiang (Mekong)
Chin-sha-chiang (Yangtze)
Ba-t'ari
Li-t'añ
Dar-rtse-mdo
(Ta-ch'ien-lu)
SA-DGA'
STOD-LUÑ
LHA-SA
KOÑ-PO
Zañ-zañ
SKYID-SDOD
bSam-yas
o'Ol-dka'sTag-rtse
gTsañ-po
Lho-mon-sdañ
aDsum-lañ (Jumla)
Sa-dga'-rdson
ÑAM-RIÑ
GTSAÑ-RON
gZis-ka-rtse
rGyal-rtse
Lha-rtse-rdson
Sa-skya
Šel-dkar-rdson
sNañ-dkar-rtse
Yar-abrog mts'o (Palti)
osMin-sgrol-gliñ
bSam-gtan-gliñ
Nu-chiang (Salween)
Yangtze
rDson-dga'-rdson
sKyid-roñ
Diñ-ri-rdson
GNA'-NAN
Kañ-c'u
Sras-c'u
DVAGS-PO
Lohit
Dihang (Brahmaputra)
NEPAL
YAM-BU'
(KATHMANDU)
BHUTAN
0 10 20 km.

MAP I


RUSSIA
MONGOLIA
HSIN-CHIANG
PEKING
DELHI
TIBET
LHA-SA
CHINA
INDIA
BURMA
INDOCHINA
SIAM
Nag-c'u-k'a
Nag-c'u (Kara-usu)
gNam-mts'o (Tenggri Nôr)
NAG-TS'AŃ
gYaṅ-ra P.
Rva-sgreṅ
bCom-mdo
P'o-mdo
sKyid-c'u
Yaṅs-pa-can
STOD LUṄ
AP'AN-YÜL
Lhun-grub-rdsoṅ
sTag-rtse
sNaṅ-rtse
Se-ra
dGa'-ldaṅ
ąBras-spuṅs
LHA-SA
rTses
SKYID-SOD
?Ri-rgyal-gśeṅ-dar
'U-yug
GTSAṄ-ROṄ
rDo-rje-brag
bSam-yas
gTsaṅ-po
gZis-ka-rtse
(bSam-grub-rtse)
bKra-śis-lhun-po
Rin-c'en-spuṅs-rdsoṅ
sNar-t'aṅ
Ṅaṅ-c'u
sPa-nam-rdsoṅ
rNam-rgyal-gliṅ
sMin-sgrol-gliṅ
rTses-t'aṅ
YAR-KLUṄS
ṄAṄ-SMAD
aBroṅ-dkar-rtse
rGyaṅ-dkar-goṅ-ma
bSam-ldiṅs
?Rin-c'en-rtse
ŠNaṅ-dkar-rtse
AP'YONS-RGYAS
Sa-skya
Srad-c'u
?Pro-lha
rGyal-rtse
ṄAṄ-STOD
K'a-ro P.
Yar-ąbrog-ts'o (Palti)
Ṅaṅ-c'u

MAP II